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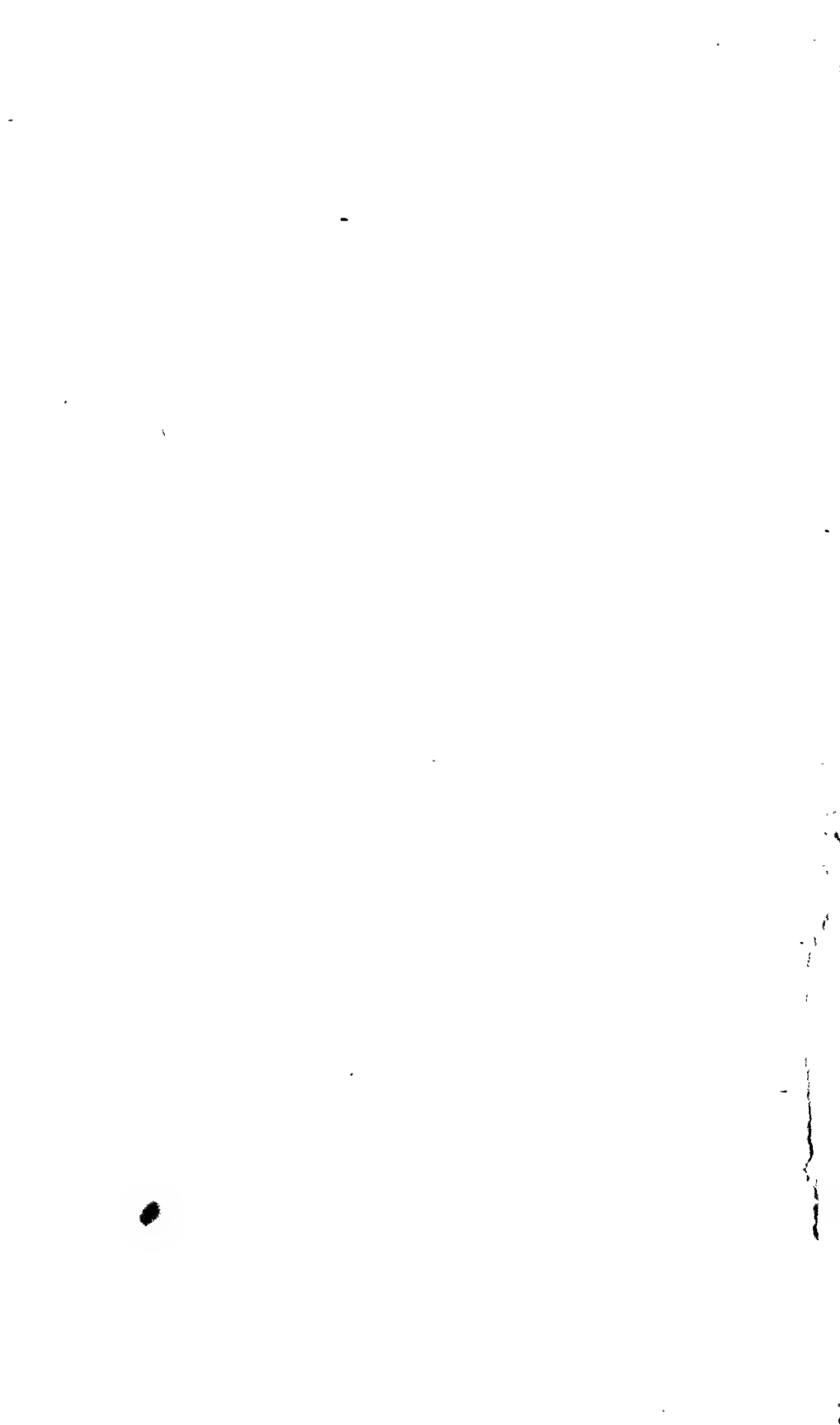
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(1.1.1)

1.1.1

## THE RECORD OF DARIUS'S PALACE AT SUSA

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AT THE TIME when I wrote my article on "The Recently Published Old Persian Inscriptions", which appeared in this JOURNAL, 51. 189-240, König's important study *Der Burgbau zu Susa* had unfortunately not yet reached me; and certain other studies have since then appeared, especially those by Herzfeld and by Brandenstein. In the light of their presentations and of some new conclusions of my own I wish to revise the text of the *Record of the Palace* which I offered in my previous article; I shall not here take up the other inscriptions, referring merely to the fact that they are all discussed by Brandenstein.

The literature bearing on the *Record*, in addition to that which I listed in JAOS 51. 193, is therefore the following:

R. Blechsteiner, *Altpersische Edelsteinnamen*, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 37. 93-104 (1930).

Fr. Wilhelm König, *Der Burgbau zu Susa nach dem Bauberichte des Königs Dareios I*, 76 pp. + 16 Tafeln; Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1930 (in *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft E.V.*, 35. Band, 1. Heft).

F. H. Weissbach, review of Scheil's *Inscriptions* and of König's *Burgbau*, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 7. 37-45 (1931).

A. Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux-Perse*, deuxième édition entièrement corrigée et augmentée par É. Benveniste; Paris, Champion, 1931.

E. Herzfeld, *Die Magna Charta von Susa*, in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 3. Band, 2.-3. Hefte, 29-124; Berlin, Reimer-Vohsen, July and September, 1931.

L. H. Gray, *Four Old Persian Etymologies*, in *American Journal of Philology*, 53. 67-9 (1932).

Wilhelm Brandenstein, *Die neuen Achämenideninschriften*, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 39. 7-97 (1932).

One general criticism must be made of these treatises, at the outset. Scholars in the Iranian field seem to think that they are privileged to invent their own system of transliteration and of



normalization of the cuneiform syllabary — I speak here with reference to the Old Persian chiefly, but not exclusively — because of some personal dissatisfaction with that in general usage. What do they expect to gain by making others learn their personal system? It happens that the systems of Bartholomae in his *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, of Tolman in his *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, and of Meillet and Benveniste in their *Grammaire du Vieux-Perse*, differ but slightly; in my own previous article I presented a table of systems, to which I here refer, stating simply that I shall use the system there employed and shall convert the texts of others into it when I quote them; I shall use the syllabic transliteration only for added clearness or where it is desirable not to prejudge the text by normalization.<sup>1</sup>

For the present purpose, the treatises of König, Herzfeld, and Brandenstein are the most important. For the proper understanding of their contributions to the problem, a brief account of each must here be given.

König has given us reconstructed transliterated texts in all three languages, Old Persian, Accadian, and Elamite, in which the *Record* was inscribed; he has presented also autographed cuneiform plates, so that we can see exactly how he filled the gaps. He has given Scheil's tablet  $\alpha$  in Plates I and II; he has united fragments  $\beta$  and  $\delta$  in one copy, Plate III, which he considers to show variations from the main copy ( $\alpha$ ). He has similarly united fragments  $\epsilon$  and  $\zeta$  in one copy, given in Plate IV, and fragments  $\theta$  and  $\eta$  in another copy, given in Plate V. Copy  $\theta + \eta$  had lines about one-fourth longer than those of the other copies, which varied but slightly.<sup>2</sup> He gives fragment  $\iota$  in Plate V, but has failed to observe that the small fragment labeled 1-7 in Scheil, p. 23, fits closely against it and gives a number of additional characters.

In addition, König has included in Plate IV five of the inscribed bricks of the frieze (Scheil's No. 12), giving them designations  $\kappa$  to  $\xi$ . His  $\kappa$  (my 12. b<sup>6</sup>; Scheil, p. 55, col. 2, no. 1) he has misread and set in lines 2-4 of  $\alpha$ :<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> König is unfortunately hypercritical in his criticism of Scheil's work; cf. Weissbach's dignified critique, p. 44 fin.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponding corrections are to be made to the statements in my previous article, pp. 195-6.

<sup>3</sup> His autograph copy has *ku* instead of *na* at the beginning of the second line.

[-m]		adā	[/hya / š-]
[-na]	uš		a[ivam /]

The correct reading is

[-ya]		idā	[/kart-]
[-va]	daša		a[bariy]

and it fits into lines 45-7.

He reads λ (my 12. b<sup>3</sup>; Scheil, p. 55, col. 2, no. 2) thus:

[ak]	unau	[š / hau-]
[uma]	rti	[yam / va-]

He places it in lines 10-2, which I accept.<sup>4</sup>

König has read fragment μ (my 12. b<sup>2</sup>; Scheil, p. 55, col. 1, no. 3) as follows, setting it in lines 23-5:

	]urada	[ša
	]m	a[

But this is clearly wrong; the text is

[-yā / d]	ūrai	[y /]
[maθiš]	ta	ba[gā-]

and follows immediately upon my 12. b<sup>1</sup> (Scheil, p. 55, col. 1, no. 1), the two forming part of a text identical with Dar. NRa 10-2 = Scheil, No. 15, lines 9-11, an amplified version of the *Record* 6-9.

König reads ν (my 12. b<sup>4</sup>; Scheil, p. 55, col. 1, no. 2) and ξ (my 12. b<sup>5</sup>; Scheil, p. 55, col. 2, no. 3) precisely as I do; they go into lines 35-7 and 40-2, respectively, of the *Record*.

Herzfeld has given us a reconstruction of the Old Persian text, in transliteration and in the cuneiform; he gives the other two versions also, but with only a modest amount of reconstruction.

---

<sup>4</sup> My own previous reading of the preserved characters was the same, but my restoration, which I now withdraw, was different.

He has not reconstructed plates of the fragments separately. By careful examination he has embodied all the Old Persian fragments into a single text, avoiding the variants in  $\beta + \delta$ , but of necessity keeping the insertion *vašnā / Auramazdāha* in  $\theta + \eta$ , as did König.

Brandenstein has devoted himself to lines 14-8, where he recognizes three versions,  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\delta$ ; and to 56-7, where he has filled in the gaps left by König and Herzfeld, and recognizes a variant.

König and Herzfeld have extensive commentaries on the reconstruction of the text and on its interpretation; Brandenstein limits himself to the new points which he proposes.

In offering a new revision of the text, I use the same notation as in my previous article. Thus square brackets show what is entirely lacking in  $\alpha$ , and italics indicate what is lacking in all the copies. Characters visible in  $\beta$  are given between raised 2's, those visible in  $\gamma$  between raised 3's, and so on. In lines 43-4 to 46-7 the visible letters in  $\epsilon$  overrun the line-ends of  $\alpha$ ; similarly, those in  $\theta$  overrun the line-ends of 51-2 and 56-7, and those in  $\eta$  the end of 54-5. Otherwise the visible characters of the smaller fragments do not overrun the line-ends of  $\alpha$ . Readings from the bricks of the frieze (König's  $\kappa$  to  $\xi$ ) are not indicated in the text, but will be mentioned in the notes when they give additional information. No distinction of notation is made between characters completely visible and those of which only a portion, even a very slight portion, can be seen; nor will such defective characters be listed in the notes, except where there is a difference of opinion as to the reconstruction of the text. Also, to save space, difference of opinion as to the visibility of characters will not be noted, where the restored text is certain, as in the formulaic lines with which the *Record* starts. In the notes, however, all OP words will be printed in italics; the attached comment will normally make clear whether the word or phrase is extant or restored, square brackets being used only for emphasis.

It should be stressed that the spacing of the characters is not uniform in the different lines. The numbers of characters, though not in all instances their identity, is certain in lines 1-16, 26-33, 35-47, 52. If we reckon each character as 1, the divider as  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and each ideogram as  $1\frac{1}{2}$ , we find that of the certain lines Nos. 9 and 44 are the shortest, each with 23 characters and 6 dividers, a unit value of 26. The longest is No. 26, with a unit value of 31. Of the uncertain lines, as here reconstructed, the shortest is No. 57,

with a unit value of 26, and the longest are Nos. 25 and 49, each with a unit value of 30.5. The certain extremes in unit value, 26 and 31, are therefore not passed by any of the reconstructed lines. But the fact of this considerable variation is of no small consequence when longer gaps are to be filled.

It should also be noted that König's union of Frags.  $\beta$  and  $\delta$  in one copy, of  $\epsilon$  and  $\zeta$  in another copy, and of  $\theta$  and  $\eta$  in a third copy, is to be accepted only if the results warrant the groupings. I have occasion to raise doubts against each of these pairs, in my notes to lines 13, 16-8, 44, 54-5. For indeed the assumption of Herzfeld, p. 32, that there was but one version of the text, is inherently reasonable, and is borne out by his successful reconstruction of a uniform text at the crucial point, lines 16-8, which eliminates the variants of Scheil, König, and Brandenstein.<sup>5</sup>

Apparently we have all worked from Scheil's volume, without access to the originals; and little further advance toward correctness can be expected until the originals are scanned for determination of disputed readings and traces of characters now virtually lost. I am myself convinced that such a scrutiny would result in the settling of many disputed points, both by demonstrating that apparent traces of characters in Scheil's plates are illusory, and by disclosing traces of characters almost obliterated and not to be seen in the plates.

With this reservation I shall now present the reconstructed text, expressing in notes my reasons for the readings which I have accepted,<sup>6</sup> and citing new material on important words, though endeavoring not to repeat what I have said in my previous article. That there may be no misunderstanding, I here expressly withdraw all readings and interpretations in that previous article which are inconsistent with those of the present article.

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<sup>5</sup> Except for the insertion of *vašnā / Auramazdāha* in the copy represented by  $\theta$  and  $\eta$ . I am not competent to speak for the Accadian and the Elamite versions; but Herzfeld thinks that they also were in a single uniform text.

<sup>6</sup> For aid in utilizing the Acc. and Elam. material in this paper, I am indebted to my colleagues, Prof. E. A. Speiser and Dr. Z. S. Harris, to whom I express my grateful appreciation.

- 1 [*baga* / *vazarka* /  $A^2$ uramaz<sup>2</sup>d]ā | *hya* | im[ā]m [| *b*<sup>9</sup>ū]mīm<sup>9</sup> [| *a*-
- 2 [*dā* / *hya* / *avam* <sup>2</sup> | *asmāna*<sup>2</sup>m] | *adā* | *hya* | <sup>9</sup>ma[rt]iya<sup>9</sup>m | ad[ā]
- 3 [/ *hya* / *št*<sup>2</sup>yātim | *ad*<sup>2</sup>ā /] *mart*<sup>9</sup>iyah<sup>3</sup>yā |<sup>39</sup> *hya* | *Dāra*-
- 4 [*yavaum* / <sup>2</sup>XŠyam | *akuna*<sup>2</sup>uš / *a*<sup>9</sup>ivam] | <sup>3</sup>par<sup>9</sup>ū<sup>3</sup>nām | XŠ-
- 5 [*yam* / *a*<sup>2</sup>ivam | *parūnām* |<sup>2</sup> *framā*<sup>9</sup>t]ā<sup>3</sup>ram | *a*<sup>3</sup>dam | *Dāra*-
- 6 [*yavauš* <sup>2</sup> | XŠ | *vazarka* | XŠ | XŠy<sup>2</sup>]ānā<sup>39</sup>m | XŠ | DAH<sup>39</sup>nām | XŠ
- 7 [/ *ahyāy*<sup>2</sup>ā | BUyā |] Vištās<sup>2</sup>pah<sup>3</sup>yā<sup>9</sup> | pu<sup>39</sup>ça | *Haxāma*-
- 8 [*nišiya*] | <sup>2</sup>θātiy | *Dārayavauš*<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> | XŠ | Au<sup>3</sup>ramazdā |
- 9 [*hya* /] *ma*<sup>9</sup>išta <sup>2</sup> | *bagānām* | *hau*<sup>3</sup>v | *m*<sup>2</sup>ām |<sup>3</sup> *adā* | *ha*-
- 10 [*uv* /] *mām* | XŠ<sup>2</sup>yam | *akunauš* | *hau*<sup>3</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>i<sup>3</sup>y | *ima* | *xša*-
- 11 [*çam* |] *frābara* | *t*<sup>2</sup>ya | *vazarkam* | *tya* | u[*va*<sup>2</sup>*spa*]m | *uma*-
- 12 [rti]yam | *vašnā* |  $A^2$ uramazdāha | *hya* | *ma*<sup>2</sup>[*nā* /] *pitā*
- 13 [/] Vištās<sup>2</sup>pa |<sup>4</sup> *utā* |  $A^2$ ršāma | *hya* | *man*[ā<sup>2</sup> / *nī*]yāka |
- 14 *tyā* | <sup>4</sup>ubā | *a*<sup>4</sup>jīvatam | *ya*<sup>2</sup>diy | [*Aurama*<sup>2</sup>]zdā | *mā*-
- 15 *m* | XŠ[*ya*]m <sup>4</sup> | *akunau*<sup>4</sup>š | *ah*<sup>2</sup>yāyā | BUy[ā |<sup>2</sup>  $A$ ]uramazd-
- 16 [*ām* / *ava*<sup>4</sup>θā | *kā*]ma<sup>4</sup> | āha | ha[*r*<sup>2</sup>uvahyā<sup>2</sup>ā / BUy]ā | *mar*-
- 17 [*tiyam* / <sup>4</sup>mām |] *a*<sup>4</sup>var[*navatā* / *mā*<sup>2</sup>m | XŠyam | *a*<sup>2</sup>*kunauš* /]
- 18 [*haruvahyā*]y<sup>4</sup>ā | BU[yā<sup>4</sup> / *adam* / *Auramaz*<sup>2</sup>dām<sup>2</sup> / *ayadaiy* /]
- 19 [*Auramazdā*<sup>2</sup>mai | <sup>4</sup> *upastām* / *abara* / *tyamaiy* / *framā*-]
- 20 [*tam* / *cartanaiy* / *ava* / *dastāmai*y / *ucāram* / *naibam* / *t*-]
- 21 [*ya* / *manā* / *kartam*] / [*ava* / *visam* / *vašnā* / *Auramazdāha* /]
- 22 [*akuna*]vam | *ima* | ha[*dīš* / *tya*] | [*Čūšāyā* / *adam* / *fr*-]
- 23 [*āsahai*]y | *dūradaša* [/ *arjanamšaiy* / *abariy* /] f[*rava*-]
- 24 [*ta* /] BU | *akaniy* | *yātā* | a[*θagam* / BUyā / *a*]vārasam [/]
- 25 [*yaθ*]ā | *katam* | *abava* | *pasāva* | [*θikā* / *avan*]iy | *aniy*[ā /]
- 26 [4]0 | *aršnīš* | *baršnā* | an[*iy*]ā | [20 /] *aršnīš* | *barš*-
- 27 *nā* | *upariy* | *avām* | *θikām* | *hadiš* | *frāsaha*[*m*]
- 28 | *utā* | *tya* | BU | *akaniy* | *fravata* | *utā* | *tya* | *θikā* |
- 29 *avaniy* | *utā* | *tya* | *ištiš* | *ajaniy* | *kāra* | *hya* | *Bā*-
- 30 [*ba*]iruviya | *hauv* | *akunauš* | *θarmiš* | *hya* | *nau*-
- 31 [*za*]ina | *hauv* | *Labnāna* | *nāma* | *kaufa* | *hacā* | *avanā* | *aba*-
- 32 [*r*]iy | *kāra* | *hya* | *Aθuriya* | *haudim* | *abara* | *yātā* |
- 33 *Bābairauv* | *hacā* [/ *Bāba*]irauv | *Karkā* | *utā* | *Yau*-
- 34 n[ā / *aba*]ra | *yāt*[ā / *Čūšā*]yā | *yakā* | *hacā* | *Gadārā*
- 35 | a[*bar*]iy | *utā* [/ *hacā* /] *Karmānā* | *daraniyam* | *hacā*
- 36 | S[*pa*]rdā | *utā* | *hacā* | *Bāxtriya* | *abariy* | *tya*
- 37 [/ *i*]d[ā] | *akariy* | *kāsaka* | *hya* | *kapautaka* | *utā* | *sikaba*-
- 38 *rūda* [/] *hya* | *idā* | *karta* | *hauv* | *hacā* | *Sugudā* | <sup>9</sup>aba<sup>9</sup>-
- 39 *riy* | *kāsaka* | *hya* | *axšaina* | *hauv* | *hac*<sup>9</sup>ā | *Uvāra*<sup>9</sup>z-
- 40 *miyā* | *abariy* | *hya* | *idā* | *karta* | *ar*<sup>9</sup>datam | *utā*<sup>9</sup> | *a*-

1 A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this earth,  
2 who created yonder firmament, who created man,  
3 who created welfare for man, who  
4 made Darius king, one king of many,  
5 one lord of many. — I am Darius,  
6 great king, king of kings, king of countries, king  
7 of this earth, son of Hystaspes, an Achaeme-  
8 nian. — Says Darius the king: Ahuramazda  
9 the greatest of gods, he created me; he  
10 made me king; he to me this kingdom  
11 granted, the great (kingdom), with good horses, with  
12 good men. By the will of Ahuramazda my father  
13 Hystaspes and Arsames my grandfather,  
14 they both were living when Ahuramazda  
15 made me king in this earth. To Ahuramazda  
16 thus the wish was: in the whole earth  
17 he chose me as the man for himself, made me king  
18 in the whole earth. I worshipped Ahuramazda,  
19 Ahuramazda bore me aid; what was commanded to me  
20 to do, that by my hand was successfully completed, beautiful;  
21 what was done by me, all that by the will of Ahuramazda  
22 I did. — This is the palace which at Susa I  
23 erected. From afar its ornamentation was brought.  
24 Down the earth was dug, until rock-bottom I reached.  
25 When the excavation was made, rubble was packed down, one  
26 part 40 ells in depth, the other 20 ells in depth.  
27 On that rubble a palace I erected.  
28 And that the earth was dug down, and that the rubble  
29 was packed down, and that the brick was moulded, the Baby-  
30 lonian folk, it did that. The cedar timber,  
31 this — a mountain named Lebanon — from there was  
32 brought; the Assyrian folk, it brought it to  
33 Babylon; from Babylon the Karkians and Ionians  
34 brought it to Susa. The *yakū*-wood from Gandara  
35 was brought and from Carmania. The gold from  
36 Sardis and from Bactria was brought, which  
37 was utilized here. The stone — lapis lazuli and car-  
38 nelian — which was utilized here, this from Sogdiana  
39 was brought. The stone — turquoise — this from Choras-  
40 mia was brought, which was utilized here. The silver and

41 sâ | dāru<sup>5</sup>va<sup>5</sup> | hacā | Mudrāyā<sup>6</sup> | abariy | a<sup>6</sup>r-  
 42 janam | tyā<sup>5</sup>nā<sup>5</sup> | didā [ / p ]ištā | ava<sup>6</sup> | hacā | Ya<sup>6</sup>un-  
 43 ā [ / a ]<sup>5</sup>bari<sup>5</sup> | piruś [ / h ]ya | idā | ka<sup>6</sup>rta |<sup>6</sup> hacā | Ku<sup>5</sup>ś-  
 44 [ā ] ut<sup>5</sup>ā | hacā | Hida<sup>6</sup>uv | utā<sup>6</sup> | ha<sup>6</sup>cā | Harau<sup>5</sup>vat-  
 45 [iy]ā |<sup>5</sup> abariy | stūnā | aṭagainiya | tyā<sup>5</sup> | id-  
 46 [ā ] kar<sup>5</sup>tā | Abirāduś | nāma | āvahanam | <sup>5</sup>Ujaiy  
 47 [ / ha<sup>5</sup> ]cā | avadaśa | abariy | martiyā | kar<sup>5</sup>nuvakā | t<sup>5</sup>-  
 48 [yaiy] | aṭagam | akunavatā | avaiy | Yau<sup>5</sup>nā | utā<sup>5</sup>  
 49 [ / Spardayā / martiy]ā | d[ā]raniyakar<sup>5</sup>ā | tyaiy |<sup>5</sup> daran-  
 50 [iyam / akunavaśa / avaiy / ] Mād<sup>5</sup>ā [ / ] utā | <sup>7</sup>M<sup>5</sup>ud<sup>7</sup>rāy-  
 51 [ā / martiyā / tyaiy / iśmar]<sup>5</sup>uv | a[ku]na<sup>5</sup>vaśa | avai<sup>5</sup>y |  
 52 [S<sup>5</sup>parda<sup>7</sup>yā | utā<sup>7</sup> / Mud]<sup>5</sup>r<sup>5</sup>āyā | ma[r<sup>5</sup>t<sup>5</sup>iy]ā | tyaiy  
 53 [ / agurum / ak<sup>5</sup>unava]<sup>5</sup>śa<sup>8</sup> | a<sup>7</sup>vaiy<sup>5</sup> | Bāba[ir]u<sup>7</sup>vīy-  
 54 [ā / martiyā / tyaiy / ]<sup>5</sup>didām<sup>5</sup> | apiṭa [ / <sup>5</sup>avaiy<sup>8</sup> / M<sup>7</sup>ād-]  
 55 [ā | utā | Mu<sup>7</sup>dr<sup>5</sup>āy]ā<sup>5</sup> | ṭāt[i]y | Dāraya[vauś / XŠ /]  
 56 [<sup>7</sup>Qūśāy<sup>7</sup>ā / idā<sup>5</sup> | f<sup>5</sup>ra]śam | [fram]ātam | par[uv / <sup>5</sup>fraśa<sup>8</sup>-]  
 57 [m / abava / <sup>7</sup>mām | A<sup>7</sup>u]rama[zdā] | pātuv [ / u<sup>9</sup>tā<sup>9</sup> / V-]  
 58 [ištāspam / hya / ] manā | pitā | utā[mai<sup>9</sup>y | DAHu<sup>9</sup>m]

1-15: All agree on the text of these lines, except the last word of 13 and the first word of 14 (see notes below).

4: König finds ]uś / a[ in κ; but this is a very dubious reading (see above).

13 *Vištāspa*: König reads ]ta-a-sa-[ in δ, forcing Scheil's drawing, which is pretty clearly ]pa /[. This may mean that β and δ belong to different copies, since the spacing between them now becomes difficult or impossible.

13 *niyāka*: König has retained Scheil's incorrect [apan]yāka, writing it [a-pa"-]ya-a-ka. Apart from the incorrect meaning of the word, this writing is impossible, since *n* was graphically omitted only before stops and final; *ny* initial or medial was written *na-i-ya*. Herzfeld, p. 42, and I in my previous article, p. 197, independently reached the correct [ni]yāka "grandfather", which is accepted by Brandenstein.

14 *tyā*: thus read by König, who sees traces of the characters; it is not a relative pronoun, as König, p. 29, § 3, note d, takes it, but a resumptive. The traces, which I think that I also can see, will do about as well for Herzfeld's *imā*; but *imā* is not used as a resumptive.

16-8: The success of Herzfeld in uniting the various copies,

41 the copper from Egypt were brought. The ornamentation  
 42 with which the wall was adorned, that from Ionia  
 43 was brought. The ivory which was utilized here, from  
 44 Ethiopia and from Sind and from Arachosia  
 45 was brought. The stone pillars which here  
 46 were utilized — a place named *Abirāduš*, in *Uja* —  
 47 from there were brought. The artisans who  
 48 wrought the stone, they were Ionians and  
 49 Sardians. The goldsmiths who  
 50 wrought the gold, they were Medes and  
 51 Egyptians. The men who wrought the *išmalu*, they  
 52 were Sardians and Egyptians. The men who  
 53 worked on the baked brick, they were Babylonians.  
 54 The men who adorned the wall, they were Medes  
 55 and Egyptians. — Says Darius the king:  
 56 At Susa here a splendid (task) was ordered; very  
 57 splendid did it turn out. Me may Ahuramazda protect, and  
 58 Hystaspes, who is my father, and my country.

$\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ , and  $\delta$ , in a single version, rests upon his rejection (p. 43) of Scheil's reconstruction, which states that Ahuramazda created horse and man for Darius. Such a teleology has no outside support; as text it rests on the Accadian only, which is here mutilated and offers as characteristic word only *ni-še*,<sup>7</sup> visible only in the mutilated prior character, but confirmed by the *ma-ra-* at the end of line 16 in  $\alpha$ . Yet Herzfeld could not complete his text, for he read:

16  $\bar{a}$  [ / + + + / *ya* ]  $\bar{\theta}\bar{a}$  /  $\bar{k}\bar{a}ma$  /  $\bar{a}$  [*ha* / ] *haruvahyāy* [ $\bar{a}$  / *BU* ]  $\bar{y}\bar{a}$  / *mar-*  
 17 *t* [*iyaš*? / ]  $\bar{m}\bar{a}m$  / *avar* [*navatā* /  $\bar{m}\bar{a}$  ] *m* / *Xšyam* / *a* [*kunau-*]  
 18 [ $\bar{s}$  / *ahyāy* ]  $\bar{a}$  / *BUyā* [ / *adam* / *A* ] *uramazdām* [ / *ayadaiy* / ]

He surmised that a word meaning "thus" should be supplied in the gap, which however was too short for *avaθā*. The correct text can now be supplied from the new inscription of Xerxes, found by Herzfeld at Persepolis,<sup>8</sup> which has *Auramazdām* / *avaθā*

<sup>7</sup> Herzfeld, by typographical error, prints *nīšē* as a restoration only, but gives in his Plate the part of *nī* which is clear in Scheil's photogravure of Frag. D.

<sup>8</sup> Published by him in *AMI* 4. 117-32 (September, 1932), and in *Studies in Anc. Or. Civilization* (Or. Inst., Univ. of Chicago) No. 5; and by me in *Lang.* 9. 35-46 (March, 1933). [Also Benveniste, *BSLP* 33. 2. 144-56.]



/ *kāma* / *āha* "unto Ahuramazda thus the desire was", in lines 21-2 and again in 29-30.<sup>9</sup> For the syntax of the acc. *Auramazdām*, cf. the *mām* in *yaθā* / *mām* / *kāma* / *āha*, Bh. 4. 35-6<sup>10</sup> and NRa 37-8. The extra two characters of this reading adequately fill the gap.

For comparison I list the other restorations:

König's restoration of *α*, essentially following Scheil:

- 16 *ā* / [*man*]*ā* [ / *aspa*]*m* / *ah*[*y*]*ā*[*yā* / *BUyā* / *adā* / *ut*]*ā* / *mar*-  
 17 *tiya*[*m* / *manā* / *ha*]*u**vd*[*iš* / *frābara* / *mā*]*m* / *Xšyam* / *a*[*k*-]  
 18 *u*[*nauš* / *ahyā*]*yā* / *BU*[*yā* / *Auramaz*]*dām* [ / *ajadiya*-]

Brandenstein, p. 28, changes line 17 only:

- 17 *tiya*[*m* / *mām* / ] *avar*[*navatā* / *hauv* / *mā*]*m* / *Xšyam* / *a*[*k*-]

König's restoration of *β* + *δ*, beginning with *akunauš* in *a* 15:

- 14 *akunau*[*š* / *u*-]  
 15 [*vah*]*yāyā* / *BUyā* [ / + + . . . . + + / *ya*]*θā* / *kāma* [ / + + ]  
 16 [ + + + ]*uvahyāyā* [*ā* / *BUyā* / + + + + + + / ] *mām* / *A*[*urama*-]  
 17 [*zdā*] / *Xšyam* / *a*[*kunauš* / *uvahyāyā*]*ā* / *BUyā* [ / *A*-]  
 18 [*uramaz*]*dām* [ / *ajadiyam* . . .

Brandenstein, p. 30, restores *β* thus, after *akunauš* / ending line 14:

- 15 [*ah*]*yāyā* / *BUyā* [ / *Auramazdā* / *yaθā* / *kāma* / *āha* / ]  
 16 [*har*]*uvahyāyā* [ / *BUyā* / *hauv* / *mām* / *avarnavatā* / *hau*-]  
 17 [*v* / *mām*] / *Xšyam* / *a*[*kunauš* / *haruvahyāyā* / *BUyā* / *A*-]  
 18 [*uramaz*]*dām* [ / *ajadiyam* / . . .

Brandenstein, pp. 32-3, restores *δ* thus, from the same point:

- 15 [ . . *haruvahyāyā* / *BUyā* / *Auramaz*-]  
 16 [*dā* / *ya*]*θā* / *kāma* [ / *āha* / *ahyāyā* / *BUyā* / *manāšim* / *f*-]  
 17 [*rābara* / ] *mām* / *a*[*varnavatā* / *mām* / . . . (like König's *α*)

Though there is now no reason to assume differing versions of the text, Brandenstein is probably right in separating *β* and *δ*, for when they are united in a single copy the spacing of the characters is in a few places almost impossible also in the version which I

<sup>9</sup> In 29-30, *a-ra-θa* and not *a-ra-θa-a*.

<sup>10</sup> In this passage, without *āha*.

have adopted. He insists on the short final vowel in *haruvahyāya* wherever it occurs,<sup>11</sup> because it is found in that writing in Scheil's No. 8; cf. his remarks on p. 30.

16 *kāma*: the phrase quoted in the preceding note, from the new inscription of Xerxes at Persepolis, shows that despite Brandenstein, pp. 31-2, the word *kāma* may denote the desire of Ahuramazda, and is not to be restricted to the desires felt by mortal men.

17 *martiyam*: predicate to *mām*, which is essentially the sense sought by Herzfeld, pp. 43-4, in his text; he suggests *martiyāiš* (though he would prefer either *martiyaibiš* or *martiyānām* if the space were sufficient) and translates: "hat auf dieser ganzen Erde unter den Menschen mich sich erwählt".

17 *avar[navatā]*: König sees *u-va-di-* where others see *a-va-ra-*; only the middle character is complete, which accounts for the variation. *Avarnavatā* is Herzfeld's convincing restoration, to correspond with the Acc. [*i-r*]*i-ma-an-ni-m[a]* "er hat mich begnadet". As he says, p. 43, this is Bartholomae's root <sup>2</sup>*var-* "wählen" (*AiW* 1360), used of a religious choice, previously known in OP from three passages in the Behistun inscription, where it means "believe". "He has chosen me for himself" is a suitable prototype for the Acc. version.

18: König starts this line with the first *u* of *a-ku-u-na-u-ša*, stating that he can see one of its verticals in *a*; but I can see no trace of it.

18 *ayadaiy*: after Herzfeld, for Acc. *i-sin-nu ip-pu-uš*; König's *ajadiyam*, which Brandenstein adopts in the variant versions, is represented by *e-te-ri-iš* in NRa 54.

19-20: After *abara*, König has / *yaθā* / *Auramazdāha* / *framānā* / *āha* / *akunavam* "Wie es des Ōramazdā Befehl war, (also) habe ich getan." Herzfeld has / *tyamaiy* / *frāmāiš* / *cartanaiy* / *avamaiy* / *kartam* / *naibam* / *ucūram* "Was er mir befahl zu tun, ist von mir als zu vergeltendes, frommes Werk gethan." The basis for any reconstruction is the Acc. 14-5, which is fortunately almost complete: *ša ana-ku u-ta-(ma) a-na e-pi-šu ina qa-ti-ya i-(ni)-ti-ir u i-ba-na* "what I was-commanded for doing, (that) by my-hand was-discharged and made-splendid." The omission of the god's name suffices to bar König's text, and indicates a passive construction in the OP; I have therefore adopted

<sup>11</sup> I do not accept *-ā* in this word, because I believe in one uniform version, and the final *-ā* is visible in *α* and *δ*, line 18.

the first part of Herzfeld's text with a change of the active verb to the passive participle *framātam*, found in the same connection in line 56, though there mutilated. For the remaining words, Herzfeld, pp. 44-50, has shown convincingly that *i-ba-na* should represent OP *naibam*, and that Elam. *u-ca-ra-m* is a borrowing of OP *ucāram*, now found in Scheil's No. 10; cf. also Weissbach in his review, pp. 39-40. Herzfeld glosses the active *eṭēru*, from which *i-ni-ṭi-ir* is made, with "bewahren, unversehrt erhalten",<sup>12</sup> a meaning which in the passive accords well with that of *ucāram* "successfully completed" (cf. Benveniste, *BSLP* 30.1.65). I have, however, reversed the order in which the two words stand, that they may agree with the Acc.: *ucāram* / *naibam* rather than Herzfeld's *naibam* / *ucāram*. Neither König nor Herzfeld has properly represented in the OP the Acc. *ina qa-ti-ya* "by my hand"; Herzfeld, p. 45 and p. 51, has indeed expressly disposed of it as an amplification of an OP pronoun. But in Bh. 4. 35 we find *pasāva* / *dī[š* / *Auramaz}dā* / *manā* / *dastayā* / *akunauš* "afterwards Ahuramazdā put them into my hand", where *manā* / *dastayā* is represented in the Acc. version by *a-na qāti-ya*. As there is nothing in the Acc. corresponding to the *kartam* of Herzfeld, I propose *ava* / *dastāmai* for his *avamai* / *kartam*; the number of characters is the same.

20-22 *tya* / *manā* . . . *akunavam*: agreed upon by all, as the prototype of the Acc., here preserved entire. The only disagreement is in fixing the ends of the lines.

22-3: The wording of the next two phrases hangs on whether *dūradaša* must be preceded by *hacā*, as in the phrase *hacā* / *avadaša* 47 inf., and Bh. 1. 37, 3. 42, 3. 80, or may dispense with it. Scheil, Herzfeld, and I see clearly a *ya* in *a* at this point, before the divider, and therefore ending the preceding word. König indeed denies that any character is there visible, and restores *hacā*; Weissbach in his review, pp. 40-1, says that he sees a sign which cannot be *a*, but might be *ca*, ending *ha-ca* written for *ha-ca-a*. But the Acc. is here complete: *é-kallu*<sup>13</sup> *a-ga-a šá ina Šu-šá-an<sup>k</sup> ana-ku e-te-pu-uš-su* "(the) palace this (is) which at Susa I made-it", a perfect translation of *ima* / *hadīš* / *tya* / *Qūšāyā*

<sup>12</sup> A common meaning of this root is "to pay, satisfy (claims)"; verbal communication of Prof. E. A. Speiser.

<sup>13</sup> The ideogram may be read nom. *-kallu*, instead of König's acc. *-kalla*; and *a-ga-a* is used for all three cases in these texts.

/ *adam* / *akunavam* — unless some other word be substituted for the verb, to end in *-y*. This is König's text, except that he omits the *tya* in order to insert *hacā* before *dūradaša*. Herzfeld omits the *adam* in order to insert *arjanamšaiy* (of the next sentence) before *dūradaša*, which utilizes the final *-y* which is visible. I propose to substitute *frāsahaiy*, pret. first sing. middle, formed like *ayadaiy* and *amaniyaiy* (cf. Benveniste, *Gr.*, p. 131), for *akunavam*; this uses the visible *-y*, and the verb is vouched for by its occurrence at the end of 27, corresponding to Acc. *e-te-pu-uš*.

The next phrase is equally well preserved in the Acc.: *ul-tu (ru)-u-qu si-im-ma-nu-uš na-šá-a* "from afar its-*simmanu* was brought". The OP for *simmanu* is given as *arjanam* in 41-2, where both versions are extant; the OP text in 23 is therefore correctly restored by König as *dūradaša* / *arjanamšaiy* / *abariy*; except that he has *hacā* before *dūradaša*, as has already been remarked. Herzfeld has the same words, but by placing *arjanamšaiy* before *dūradaša* has been compelled to mark a gap after *abariy*.

22 *Çüşāyā*: the initial sibilant gives some trouble to Herzfeld, p. 52, because he still uses the etymological writing 𐎶 for the character, instead of admitting outright its sibilant value; in a proper name borrowed from another language the etymological writing is misleading.

23 *arjanam*: Herzfeld, pp. 52-3, normalizes *ārjanam*, with *vriddhi*, and interprets as "limestone", either as building-stone or for mortar and plaster, by comparing with certain words of the sixteenth century lexicographers.<sup>14</sup> But this is conditioned upon the restoration in 42, which he gives as *ārjanam* / *tyanā* / *didā* [/ *d*] *ištā* "the limestone with which the wall was built", instead

<sup>14</sup> Prof. E. A. Speiser, working independently on the Accadian, writes: "*Simmanu* has been derived, quite rightly, from *wasāmu*. The meaning of the Acc. verb is 'to be suitable, fitting', in the intensive conjugation 'to furnish adequately'. But the primary meaning of the verb is still shown by Arabic *wasama* 'to make a sign upon', cf. also the intr. *wasuma* 'to be handsome'. *Simmanu* should therefore signify 'carving, engraving', rather than König's 'painting', pp. 71-2. Line 17 of the Acc. (= OP 23) yields thus 'from a distance its carving-work was brought'; line 29 of the Acc. (= OP 42) *si-im-ma-nu-ú šá u-šir-tum* may be translated 'the carving of the relief', etc. Herzfeld's 'limestone' is quite impossible." At the same time, Prof. Speiser admits that *simmanu* = OP *arjanam* may have had a more general, less specialized meaning in this text, such as that which I have adopted, following Scheil's interpretation.

of Benveniste's [*p*]ištā "adorned", adopted by König and by me, and confirmed by König's reading [*tyaiy* /] *didām* / *apiθa* in 54, "who adorned the wall". In 23 *arjanam* is a collective term for the ornamentation of the whole palace, including many articles from different places; but in 41-2 it is by the relative clause expressly limited to the materials used for ornamenting the wall. Cf. my note on *arjanam* 41-2.

24: König reads *yātā* / *arasiy* / *BU*[*yā* / *θu*]*vārs*[*ā* /] "until was-reached the-earth's bottom" = "until rock-bottom was reached", corresponding to Acc. *a-dī qaq-qa-ri du-un-ni-šu ak-[šu]-du* "unto<sup>15</sup> the-earth its-strengthening I-arrived-at". But the fragmentary traces of *-ra-sa-i-ya* are dubious; the subject rarely follows the verb in OP, cf. Benveniste, *Gram.*, p. 239, especially in a subordinate clause, ib., pp. 246-7; and *θuvārsā* is very questionable. König, p. 32 note, equates it with Avestan *θwarsah-*; Bartholomae, *AIW* 796, takes the word from the root *θwarəs-* "schneiden" and glosses by "Abschnitt, Abschluss, Ende", which is hardly consistent with König's interpretation. König also passes over too summarily the differences in the radical vowel and in the stem final. Herzfeld reads *avārasam*, seeing traces of the first and the last characters, and (p. 54) proposes *BUyā* for the last part of the gap. So far as he goes, he agrees with my text in my first article, which I here retain: *yātā* / *a*[*θagam* / *BUyā* / *a*]*vārasam* [/]; this agrees with the Acc., word for word, in the original order, keeping the active first person verb. I now think that I can see on Scheil's Plate the first short horizontal which begins the final character of *avārasam*.

25 *yaθā*: the Acc. *ār-ki šā* suggests [*yaθ*]ā (so Benveniste, *BSLP* 30.1.67; Herzfeld; and my own earlier version) rather than Scheil's [*ut*]ā, which König follows.

25 *katam*: for *ka<sup>n</sup>tam*, on the evidence of Modern Persian; so König, p. 32 note, and Herzfeld, pp. 54-5.

25 *θikā*: equated by König, p. 50, with Skt. *śikhā* "Kamm, Spitze", and therefore interpreted as "Erhöhung, Plattform". The Acc. *ab<sup>n</sup>hi-iš-ši* "gravel" is decisive against this meaning. Cf. also Herzfeld, pp. 55-6.

<sup>15</sup> *A-dī* is more probably preposition "unto" than conjunction "until"; so Prof. Speiser. If OP *yātā* also be here a preposition, it will govern the locative *a*[*θagaiy*].

25 *avaniy*: after 29, q. v. for reading; not *akaniy*.

26 *aršniš*: normalized *āršniš*, with *vriiddhi*, by Herzfeld, pp. 56-7, who interprets it as the height of a horse's withers, by comparing Avestan Ys. 9. 11 *ārštyō.barəza* "spear-high", where the Pahlavi mistranslation *asp bālāk* "von Pferdshöhe" suggests to Herzfeld a term *\*āršno.barəza* "having the height of a horse", wherein the prior element is a *vriiddhi* to *ršan-* "Männchen, Hengst". In this case, as Herzfeld remarks, the unit is about 1.50 meters, and the dimensions are a royal exaggeration. There seems to be no evidence for identification of this measure with the Babylonian foot, as Scheil, p. 26, took it.

26 *baršnā*: the exact equivalent of Avestan Yt. 5. 96 *barəšnā*, instr. of *barəzan-* "Höhe" (Bartholomae, *AIW* 950), as Benveniste *Gram.* p. 179, König p. 51, Herzfeld p. 57 take it.

27 *frāsaha[m]*: my preference as a reading, to correspond with the active *e-te-pu-uš* in the Acc.; König has *frāsah[ya]*, Herzfeld has *frāsah[y]*, both passive. The best etymological interpretation is given by Benveniste, *Gram.* p. 67, as from a root *sa-* corresponding to Av. *spā-* "jeter, entasser", from Indo-European *k̑w-*; this is accepted by König, pp. 49-50.<sup>16</sup>

28 *fravata*: König, p. 51, takes as gen.-abl. of the equivalent of Skt. *pravat-* "abschüssige Fläche, Hügel" and therefore meaning "am Hang" or "vom Hang". He does not convince me that this is preferable to Benveniste's view, *BSLP* 30. 1. 59 and *Gram.* p. 62, that *fravata* is an adverb meaning "downward", like Skt. instr. *pravatā*.

29 *avaniy*: so to be read, and not *akaniy*, since the second character is *va* and not *ka*; apparently only Weissbach, p. 41 sup., has observed the short horizontal stroke which precedes the vertical. The root of *avaniy* is identical with Av. *\*van-* "superare" (Bartholomae, *AIW* 1350); *avaniy* is *superata est* = *subacta est*, "was placed underneath".<sup>17</sup> We are therefore relieved of the necessity

<sup>16</sup> But König's suggestion of cognation with Vedic *pastya-* "Wohnsitz, Behausung" cannot be valid, because Indic (s)p cannot go back to *k̑w*.

<sup>17</sup> It is an interesting coincidence that a form of *van-* is combined with a riming form of *jan-* in Yasna 9. 24, just as it is here; *hō vīspe vərəiđiṇqm vanūt, nī vīspe vərəiđiṇqm janūt*. This form, according to Bartholomae, is from *\*van-*, not from *\*van-*; but it seems to me unsound to distinguish four homophonous roots, meaning respectively "superare", "gewinnen",

of admitting two opposite meanings for *akaniy*, "was dug out" and "was filled in"; although Scheil p. 26, König p. 49, Herzfeld p. 54 all admit the peculiarity, either as semantic developments of one root or as the result of homophony of different roots.<sup>18</sup>

29 *ištiš*: the sun-dried bricks, perhaps to be written *ḫštiš*, in view of Modern Persian *xišt*; so Benveniste *BSLP* 30. 1. 60, König pp. 51-2, Herzfeld pp. 57-8.

29 *kāra*: the army, according to König, pp. 4-5 and p. 7, employed to protect the work here, and in line 32 to protect the transportation. This seems to me very doubtful.

29-30 *Bābairuīya*: with *-bai-* rather than *-bi-*, after the argument of Benveniste, *Gram.* p. 43; so also Herzfeld.

30 *θarmiš*: the best normalization, with Herzfeld, p. 58. Herzfeld regards it clearly as a borrowed word, from Sumerian *šurman*, Bab. *šurwēnu*, Ass. *surmēnu*; this would dispose of Gray's Indo-European connections, pp. 67-8. König, p. 53, connects with Greek *τερμυθος*, variously spelled, and obviously borrowed, and considers that by etymology it means a tree with a fragrant wood. All agree that it denotes the cedar of Lebanon.

30-1 *nau[+]ina*: with *-za-*, König, pp. 53-4; with *-ca-* or *-za-*, Herzfeld, p. 58. Both connect the word with Modern Persian *nōž*, *nōžān* "pine-cone", and take it as an adjective meaning 'pine-cone-shaped', appropriate to the cedar.

31 *Labnāna*: the Acc. equivalent stood in a gap, where it is restored by König and by Herzfeld, p. 58; correct my remark, p. 205 of my previous article, which follows Scheil.

32 *Aθuriya*: here "Syrian" rather than "Assyrian"; cf. König, pp. 4-5, and Herzfeld, p. 59.

33 *Bābairaur*: after *hacā*, perhaps a real abl. form in *-aut*, equal to Av. *-aot*, in which instance all the forms governed by *hacā* are abl. except *Šakaibīš*, in the new inscription of Darius found at Hamadan; so Herzfeld, p. 55.

33 *Karkā*: "Cilicians", according to König, p. 7; "Carians", according to Herzfeld, pp. 60-1.

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"wünschen", "bergen", since the last three can easily be semantic developments from the first, which is far the most frequent of them. Bartholomae, *AiW* 1353 s. v. *\*van-* note, rejects such a combination.

<sup>18</sup> Benveniste, *Gram.* p. 109, admits a second root *kan-* to explain *avākanam*, Bh. 1. 86.

33-4 *Yaunā*: Greeks of Cyprus and some Phoenician cities, who had been transported as captives to Babylon and its vicinity, according to König, pp. 7-8. Herzfeld, pp. 59-60, regards the transport from Babylon as being by water to the Persian Gulf and for some distance along its shore.

34: There are more traces of letters here than I formerly realized; but there is not room for König's *a-ba-ra-ta-a* = *abara<sup>n</sup>tā*. The *a-ba-ra* which Herzfeld and I independently proposed is preferable, though it makes rather wide spacing. What seems to be the top horizontal of an *a* at the end of the word, must rather be the top short horizontal of *ra* in *a-ba-ra*, or the head of the vertical in the same character.

34 *Čūšāyā*: a certain restoration, because of Acc. *Šu-ša-an* at the corresponding point.

35 *yakā*: taken by Gray, p. 68, as "timber", to the root seen in the zero grade in Greek *ἵκτιον* "mast". König, pp. 54-61, identifies as the Afghan cypress, and etymologizes as *\*aka*- "Zapfen(baum), Nadel(baum)", because of the shape of the cypress tree, with prefixed *y*-, characteristic of Scythian phonetics; there were Scythians in Gandāra, from which the *yakā* was brought. Weissbach, p. 42, prefers to identify *yakā* as mulberry timber, which is hard and durable, and takes a high polish. Herzfeld, pp. 61-2, suggests that perhaps it was teak.

35 *daraniyam*: graphic for dissyllabic *darnyam*, according to Herzfeld, p. 63; cf. also König, p. 65.

36 *Spardā*: the Persian province which included Lydia (of which Sardis was the capital) and some neighboring lands, according to König, p. 8. König, p. 5, properly emphasizes that the names of countries and of peoples do not necessarily have the same meaning in Persian as their etymological equivalents do in Greek; cf. remark on *Aθuriya*, above. But the difficulty is in determining the variations; cf. Weissbach, p. 43 fin. and p. 44.

37 *kāsaka*: normalized *kāsika* by König, who defends this reading, pp. 61-2. But it is incumbent on the transliteration to indicate the actual writing, which the *i* of *kāsika* falsifies. Etymological comment by König, l. c., and by Herzfeld, p. 65.

37 *kapautaka*: "lapis lazuli" on all the evidence, cf. Blechsteiner, pp. 94-101; König, p. 62; Herzfeld, p. 64; Weissbach, article *Kapauta* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* 10. 1887.



37-8 *sikabarūda*: -*ru-u-da*, according to the traces which I see, namely the lower part of the two angles of *ru*, the *u* virtually complete, and the first short vertical and the beginning of the top horizontal of *da*. There is general agreement that it denoted a red stone, probably carnelian, but the exact reading and the interpretations differ. Blechsteiner, pp. 101-3, accepts the reading *sikabariya* offered by König, and normalizes *si<sup>n</sup>kabr-* after Aramaic and Arabic words which he quotes; he rejects König's Avestan equation on the ground that the Avestan word is late and obviously borrowed. König, pp. 62-3, reads *sikabariya*, and equates with Avestan *asānəm siyūire.čīθrəm*, *Yt.* 14. 59, which he interprets as "Stein sīgūrischen Glanzes" instead of Bartholomae's (*AiW* 1580) "Stein sīgūrischer Herkunft"; he runs the Av. word back to \**sīgworthy-*, and would therefore normalize the OP word as *sikbaryia*. Gray, pp. 68-9, considers the word a compound, in which *sikaba-* is from the base \**kewe(i)q-*, seen in a zero form in Skt. *śuc-* "gleam", and completes it as *sikaba[xa]uda* "bright-hooded (creature)", denoting some kind of serpent, and thus bringing the material into conformity with Scheil's identification, p. 29, as serpentine. Herzfeld, pp. 64-5, reads *sa-i-ka-ba-ru-u-ša*, in which he considers all but the *ru* virtually certain; he proposes that it is a compound of *sikā-* 'Kies' (cf. *θikā*) or of *sāy-* "gefleckt", with an unknown second element.

39 *axšaina*: normalized *axšina* by Blechsteiner, pp. 103-4, and König, pp. 63-4, who take it as turquoise. Herzfeld, pp. 65-7, takes it to be grayish amber; against Scheil's view, pp. 29-30, that it is hematite, he states that hematite had gone out of use for seals at the time of the *Record*, this use being the basis for Scheil's identification.

40-1 *ardatam* | *utā* | *asā* | *dāruva*: probably a natural pair, like others in the list; I therefore retain Scheil's identification of the second item as "copper". Herzfeld, p. 67, has recognized *asā* as the regular nom. of *asan-* "stone", and takes *dāruv* (so normalized) as an appositive nom., "Holz-Stein", whatever that might be.<sup>19</sup> König, pp. 64-5, takes *āsā* (so normalized) as nom. pl., "door-frames", comparing Skt. *ātā* in the same meaning, with an instr. *dārūr* "of wood", and the entire phrase meaning "door-

<sup>19</sup> Herzfeld, p. 67, suggests that if it is a building-stone and not a kind of wood, and came from Egypt, it might be syenite.

frames of wood, adorned with silver", brought ready-made from Egypt. This whole view is extremely improbable, quite apart from the curious use of an instrumental depending directly upon a noun. I still take *dāruva* as an adj., nom. sg. masc., modifying *asā*.<sup>20</sup>

41 *abariy*: with two subjects, showing that this form may be used as plural also; cf. 47.

41-2 *arjanam*: Herzfeld thinks that this designates limestone either as building-stone or for plaster; but limestone is abundant in Persia, and would not have been brought thither from Ionia, which is a long distance. Cf. my notes on *arjanam* 23 (with footnote), and on *Yaunā* 42-3.

42 [*p*]*istā*: read by Benveniste, *BSLP* 30. 1. 62-3, and accepted by König; Herzfeld's [*d*]*istā* is ruled out by *apiṭa* in 54, read by König.

42-3 *Yaunā*: the Persian province of Ionia, including, according to König, pp. 7-8, Cyprus and the coasts of the mainland to north and east; according to Herzfeld, p. 67, comprising the western coast of Asia Minor and part of the southern coast.

43 *piruš*: a borrowed word; cf. König, pp. 66-8, and Herzfeld, pp. 67-8.

44 *Hidauv*: for *Hi<sup>n</sup>dauv*; not *Hi<sup>n</sup>dāva* as König has it, for the character before *va* is *u*, not *a*. For the form, cf. note on *Bābairauv* 33. Herzfeld, p. 68, emphasizes that it means Sind, which had recently been conquered, and not India in general.

44: The visible characters in the last line of Frag. ζ are a divider, an angle, and the beginning of a horizontal. The horizontal lies fairly high, but not high enough to be the horizontal of *u*; it is therefore part of *ha*, and the characters belong to / *hacā*, not to / *utā* after *Hidauv*, where König places them. In König's Tafel IV the characters of line 44 in ε + ζ are much more widely spaced than those in the preceding lines; the shift in the identification rectifies this, but makes it impossible to unite the two fragments into one copy.

44-5 *Harauvatiyā*: with *-tiy-*, not *-ty-*, since *t* would not remain unchanged before *y*; this implies that the *t* was preceded by the *n* of the strong grade of the suffix; so Herzfeld, p. 55. It may

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<sup>20</sup> I now accept *asā* as the best reading, though I still consider *asada* a possibility.

therefore be normalized *Hara<sup>h</sup>va<sup>n</sup>tiyā*; unless indeed the *t* is a mere analogical retention from the nominative *-vatiš*; cf. Skt. *-vati*.

45 *stūnā* / *aθagainiya*: Herzfeld, p. 68, normalizes the adj. as *-nīy*, and takes the phrase as nom. sg. in a collective meaning; König, p. 68, takes as nom. pl. with *-niy* from *-nā* or *-nīh*. But the normal nom. pl. of fem. *i*-stem adjectives ends in Skt. *-yas*, and the corresponding OP form would be written *-i-ya* after a consonant, as here.

46 *Abirāduš* / *nāma* / *āvahanam* / *Ujaiy*: identified by König, pp. 9-11, as a place in *Oñğa*, mentioned by Ptolemy 6. 4. 7, north of Susa in the land of the Bakhtiari, and not so far away from Susa as to make the transport of stone columns improbable. Herzfeld, pp. 69-73, identifies *Abirāduš* as Blados or Blaundos in Abrette, in northern Mysia, to-day Balat; he takes *Uja* as *\*uja*, the OP equivalent of the name from which Cyzicus is derived with a Greek suffix.

47 *abariy*: with a plural subject; cf. note on *abariy* 41.

47 *karnuvakā*: "Bauarbeiter, Werkleute", according to König, pp. 69-70, with whom Weissbach, p. 43, agrees; König normalizes *karnuvkā*. Herzfeld, p. 73, takes as "(Stein)schneider, Steinmetzen", to the root *kart-* "cut". It should be noted that forms of this root without the *t* occur, as in Greek *κείρω*, and that the *-nu-* suffix appears in Skt. *kṛṇoti* "il blesse, tue", quoted by Boisacq, *Dict. Étym. de la Langue Grecque* s. v. *κείρω*, though the combination is rare.

48 *aθagam*: with Herzfeld, p. 73, in a collective sense; this seems better to me than König's *āθiyā* "Steinarbeiten", p. 70.<sup>21</sup> Traces of all the characters in *a-θa-ga-ma* seem to me to be visible.

48 *Yaunā*: the transported Eretrians, according to König, pp. 8-9.

49 *Spardayā*: probably the correct form, here and in 52, where the character *-ya-* is visible in 0; so König, p. 35, who notes the Elam. *š-par-ta-ya-ap*, though its evidence is limited to a part of the *-ya-* remaining in Frag. i. Herzfeld's reconstruction of the name as *sa-pa-ra-di-i-ya-a* = *Spardiyā* lacks probability.

<sup>21</sup> König, p. 70 note, has misinterpreted Bartholomae's *ās°*, *as°*, *s°* in AiW 210 s. v. *asōnga-* as stem forms, instead of as initial parts of variants of the word; but the stem *as-* can be justified by a comparison with OP *as-man-* "sky", Gk. *ἀκμων* "anvil", cf. (for semantics) H. Reichelt, *Der steinerne Himmel*, in *IF* 32. 23-57.

49 *dāranīyakarā*: the reading of König, p. 35, who sees parts of all the characters, with *vridhhi*<sup>22</sup> in the prius of the compound, which excuses the short vowel in the posterius. Herzfeld, pp. 73-4, takes as quadrisyllabic, *darnyakarā*, in view of Modern Persian *zargar*; his reading is [da-ra-]na-i-ya-ka-ra-a, the first two characters reconstructions merely. Scheil's ]ya / ka-[ in the first line of ̸ does not belong to this word, since the correct reading is ]ya / sa-[ , cf. König, Tafel V, which fits the end of 51 and the beginning of 52.

49-50 *daran[iyam]*: read *daran[iya]* by König, and explained as instr., p. 65; but the instr. would be -iyā. More probably the acc. is needed here, as Herzfeld takes it.

50 *Mādā*: not *Mādayā* with König; cf. my note on 54. These "Medians" are considered by König, pp. 5-6, to be Assyrians resident in Media, a view which Weissbach, p. 43 inf., seems to doubt.

50-1 *Mudrāyā*: Egyptians resident in Media, according to König, pp. 5-6.

51 [*išmar*]uv: neut. acc., with Herzfeld, pp. 74-5, who notes that the Elam. has *iš-ma-lu*, a word which looks like a borrowing from Acc., in which event the OP also has probably borrowed the word. The Acc. root *malū* "füllen" has already occurred twice in line 20, as the equivalent of OP *avaniy* in 27 and 29 (q. v. for notes); and the word denotes some activity not exactly determinable, but not identical with the filling in 27 and 29. König reads [*pir*]ūv, instr. of *piruš* "ivory", pp. 66-8; but we may fairly doubt whether the instr. was used with the verb *kar*- "make, work".

53 *agurum*: supplied by König, p. 52, after Acc. *a-gur-ru* "baked brick", on the evidence of Modern Persian *āgūr* in the same meaning. Herzfeld leaves a gap in his text, but on p. 75 seems to approve such a borrowing from the Acc.

53-4 *Bābairuvīyā*: "Ionians resident in Babylonia", according to König, p. 6, on the basis of the Acc., which he reconstructs *Y[a-ma-na-a-a ina mā<sup>t</sup>Ak-ka-dī-i]*, though in his argument he fails to mention that all but the first character is reconstruction. The difficulty lies in the fact that if the OP be read *Bābairuvīy[ā / utā / Yaunā]*, there is at most room for *tyaiy* instead of the usual *martiyaīy / tyaiy* before the next words. Herzfeld, p. 75, with

<sup>22</sup> Not *guṇa*, as König inadvertently puts it, p. 65, line 5 from bottom.

a different utilization of the Acc. remnant, proposes [/ *utā* / *Yūtiyā* /], after which he goes on at once with *ḏidām* / *apiy* "the wall also", instead of the regular phrasing. It seems to me better to accept König's text and interpretation.

54 *apiṭa*: recognized by König, which accords with the [*p*] *išta* in 42.

54-5 *Mādā*: not König's *Mādayā*, since the *-ya-* is not attested anywhere, and the Elam. is *Ma-ta-pe*; cf. my note on *Spardayā* 49. Weissbach, p. 43 fin., doubts König's *Mādayā*, and Herzfeld has *Mādā*. In line 4 of Frag.  $\eta$ , corresponding to 54-5 of  $\alpha$ , König has represented a damaged *-ya-* before the final *-a* of the word; but Scheil's drawing, p. 23, shows clearly *-da-a* preceded by a vertical which can be the last vertical of *-a-*, and his photogravure in Plate XI seems to confirm this. The shortening of the word means that Fragments  $\theta$  and  $\eta$ , if really forming part of a single copy, stood rather closer together than König has placed them in Tafel V; which is not impossible, since the characters are more widely spread at this point in the other lines than in the line of which we are speaking.

55-6: In the text of Frags.  $\theta$  and  $\eta$ , between the text of 55 and that of 56 as given in  $\alpha$ , stood [*va*]<sup>s</sup> *šnā*<sup>s</sup> [/ *Aurama*]<sup>r</sup> *zdāha* |<sup>r</sup>.

56-7: This sentence has given much trouble. König has 56 *Ṣūšāy*[*ā* / + + + + /] *frašam* / [+ + +] *ātam* / *pa*[+ + + + + /] *fraša*[*m*], followed by a (restored) divider and a gap of five characters at the beginning of 57. Herzfeld has 55 [*a-*] 56 [*ita* / *tya* /] *Ṣūšā*[*yā*] / *frašam* / [*fram*] *ātam* / *par*- and a gap. Brandenstein, pp. 36-8, has filled the gaps by reference to the Elam., which is here nearly complete, and shows the repetition of the word *frašam*: *Šu-ša-an* [*hi-ma p*] *ir-ra-ša-m* [*t*] *e-ni-m*-[*t*] *a-t-tik r-še-k-ki pir-ra-ša-[m]*. Herzfeld, pp. 78-81, had demonstrated the meaning of the two words between the repeated *pir-ra-ša-m*; <sup>23</sup> on this basis, with insertion of *hi-ma* = OP *idā* in the gap, Brandenstein reached the reconstruction which, with one alteration (*abava* for his *āha*), I have adopted in my text. Brandenstein divided the lines after *f-* of *frašam*, which left 56 two characters short; if we divide *fraša-m* there is need of a longer word than *āha* in 57, and I have replaced it by the

<sup>23</sup> Brandenstein, p. 37, explains how Herzfeld came to make a wrong completion of the second *pir-ra-ša-[m]*.

synonymous *abava*. As it happens, Brandenstein noted that in Frags.  $\theta + \eta$  the space is somewhat greater than would be filled by *āha*, and he therefore, pp. 38-9, proposed the participle *būtām* in its stead, as a variant. But in commenting on *Mādā*, 54-5, I have shown that  $\theta$  and  $\eta$  should be placed more closely together than in the arrangement of König; and the preterite *abava* would adequately fill the gap there as well as in *a*, if indeed  $\theta$  and  $\eta$  are parts of one and the same copy.

56 *frašam*: “tauglich”, according to König and Brandenstein; “leuchtend, strahlend”, according to Herzfeld, *AMI* 3.1-11, as adj. to *fra-* + *xšāy-*, transferred to the *ā*-declension.

57-8: The final sentence is correctly reconstructed by König, whose text I accept. Herzfeld has, after *pātuv*: [*/ utā*] *mai-* 58 [*y / viθam / utā / tyam /*] *manā / pitā . . .*; his translation shows that he overlooked the case of *pitā*, which can be nom. only.

# NEW KIRKUK DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SECURITY TRANSACTIONS

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(Concluded from Volume 52)

I (91)

(Case)

ṭup-pu ša 1 imēr 1 [<sup>1</sup>awehari eqli] ša <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup  
<sup>abankunuk</sup> SAG.KI ṭupšarru

(Tablet)

(1) ṭup-pí di-te-en-nu-ti ša (2) <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup mār Ar-ru-um-ti  
(3) 1 imēr 1 <sup>1</sup>awehari eqla ši-qú-u (4) ina <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi ina šu-pa-al eqli  
(5) ša <sup>m</sup>Túr-še-en-ni ina su-ta-an-nu (6) eqli ša <sup>m</sup>Ut-ḥap-ta-e ina  
e-li-en-nu (7) eqli ša <sup>m</sup>Tar-mi-til-la ina il-ta-na-an-nu (8) eqli ša  
<sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup-ma (9) a-na di-te-en-nu-ti a-na 3 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> (10) a-na  
<sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu mār Ta-i-ú-ki i-din (11) ù <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu 4 imēr šēa<sup>pl</sup>  
(12) 1 imēr ki-bá-tù 5 manē šipāta<sup>pl</sup> (13) a-na <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup i-din  
(14) im-ma-ti-me-e 3 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> eqli (15) im-ta-lu-ú 3 imēr šēa<sup>pl</sup>  
(16) 1 imēr ki-bá-tù 5 manē šipāta<sup>pl</sup> (17) <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup a-na  
(18) <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu ú-ta-ar (19) eqla-šu i-liq-qì šum-ma eqlu (20) ma-  
a-ru la i-liq-qì (21) šum-ma eqlu pá-qí-ra-na (22) i-ra-aš-ši  
(23) <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup (24) ú-za-ak-ka ina lib-bi (25) eqli ša-a-šu  
qa-sa-qa (26) la i-liq-qì ma-an-nu-um-me-e (27) i-na bēri<sup>1</sup>-šu-nu  
(28) ibalkatu<sup>tu</sup> 1 alpa umallā<sup>pl</sup> (29) ù sūtu<sup>2</sup> ša 8 <sup>1</sup>qa (30) ṭup-pu  
ina arki<sup>ki</sup> šu-du-ti (31) ina <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi sa-tì-ir

(32) maḥar Tar-mi-ip<sup>3</sup>-ta-še-en-ni (33) mār Wi-ir-ri-iš-ta-an-ni  
(34) maḥar Ta-i-til-la mār Zi-ka<sub>4</sub>-a-a (35) maḥar Ši-mi-til-la mār  
Arad-<sup>d</sup>Ištar<sup>4</sup> (36) maḥar Ḥe-ir-ri-ka<sub>4</sub>-an-ni (37) mār Ḥu-pí-ta  
(38) maḥar Ip-ša-ḥa-lu (39) mār Ḥe-ir-ši<sup>5</sup>-ia um-ma (40) <sup>m</sup>Šuk-  
ri-te-šup kaspa<sup>pl</sup> (41) el-te-qì

Seals of the witnesses mentioned in ll. 34-39; also of Shukritesup  
and of the scribe (SAG.KI)

<sup>1</sup> RI.BA.NA <sup>2</sup> GIS.BAR. <sup>3</sup> Written like *ur*. <sup>4</sup> ú. <sup>5</sup> *tuk*.

(Case)

Tablet of one imer and one aweharu of land belonging to  
Shukritesup.

Seal of Sakki, the scribe.

(Tablet)

Tablet of possession of Shukriteshup, son of Arrumti: one imer (and) one aweharu of irrigated land in 'Nuzi, below the land (5) of Turshenni, south of the land of Uthaptae, above the land of Tarmitilla, (and) north of the land of the same Shukriteshup, into possession for three years (10) to Ilanu, son of Tayuki, he has given. And Ilanu four imer of barley, one imer of wheat, (and) five minas of wool to Shukriteshup has given. When the three years of the land (15) have been fulfilled, three imer of barley, one imer of wheat, (and) five minas of wool Shukriteshup to Ilanu shall return and his land he shall take back. If the field (20) has been plowed over, he shall not take it back. If the field has a claimant, Shukriteshup shall clear it. Out of the midst (25) of that field the moiety he shall not remove. Whosoever between them breaks the agreement shall furnish one ox. As for the measure, it (consists) of eight qa.

(30) The tablet was written after the proclamation in 'Nuzi.

Five witnesses.

(39) Thus (declared) Shukriteshup: The moneys I have received.

Seven seals.

3. That the *PI* sign in *aweḥaru* represents *w* followed by *e* is established by *a-me-ḥa-ri*, Nu. III 273. 11.

29. The measure unit is in this case subdivided into eight parts, instead of the more usual ten, whence the special statement. The passage is of interest because it helps us to understand why *mātu* "hundred" has occasionally in these documents the value of "eighty" (Gadd, p. 132). An imer contains ten measures; with the measure at ten *qa*, the imer will naturally consist of 100 *qa*, hence the synonym *mātu*. But when the measure has only eight *qa*, the imer will inevitably have eighty. To consider *mātu* with Gadd as a new measure of capacity is therefore unnecessary.

2 (89)

(1) ṭup-pí di-te-en-nu-ti (2) ša <sup>m</sup>Še-kàr-til-la mār A-kip-še-en-ni (3) 1 imēr eqla šī-qú-ú i-na am-ma-ti ša a-bu-ul-li (4) i-na edinni <sup>na</sup>ša dimit Ki-pa-an-til-wa (5) i-na il-ta-na-an-nu ḥarrāni<sup>ni</sup> (6) ša dimti ša <sup>m</sup>Zi-ir-ri (7) ina šu-pa-al eqli ša <sup>m</sup>Ša-a-ta (8) i-na su-ta-an-nu eqli ša (9) <sup>m</sup>A-ri-ip-še-ri-iš (10) a-na di-te-en-nu-ti a-na 3 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> (11) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu mār Ta-i-ú-ki (12) i-din ù



<sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu (13) 20 manē anāka<sup>pl</sup> 2 manē siparra[-ni]<sup>1</sup> ša ip-šu  
 (14) 1 immerta ša 3 ba-aq-nu (15) a-na <sup>m</sup>Še-kār-til-la i-din  
 (16) im-ma-ti-me-e 3 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> (17) eqli im-ta-lu-ú 20 manē anāka<sup>pl</sup>  
 (18) 2 manē siparra 1 immerta damqa<sup>qa</sup> (19) <sup>m</sup>Še-kār-til-la a-na  
 (20) <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu ú-ta-ar (21) eq-la-šu i-liq-qì šum-ma (22) eq-lu  
 pá-qí-ra-na (23) i-ra-ši <sup>m</sup>Še-kār-til-la (24) ú-za-ak-ka<sub>4</sub> šum-ma  
 eq-lu (25) ma-a-ru la i-liq-qì (26) ina lib-bi eqli qa-áš-qa (27) la  
 i-liq-qì ma-an-nu-um-me-e (28) ina 3 šanāti ibalkatu<sup>tú</sup> (29) 1 alpa  
 ú-ma-al-la (30) ṭup-pu ina arki<sup>ki</sup> šu-du-ti (31) i-na <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi sa-ṭi-ir  
 (32) maḥar El-ḥi-ip-til-la mār Ku-uz-za-ri-ia (33) maḥar  
 Ḥe-ir-ši-ia mār A-kap-tùg-gi (34) maḥar Gi-el-šu mārāt Šār-ra-  
 mu-li (35) maḥar Še-en-na-a-a mār Ḥa-al-še-en-ni (36) qāt  
<sup>m</sup>SAG.KI ṭupšarru (37) maḥar Ḥa-ši-ip-til-la mār Ur-ḥi-ia  
 (38) ù immeru ina arḥi<sup>hi</sup> (39) Im-pur-tal<sup>2</sup>-an-ni (40) li-qí

Seals of the above witnesses.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. 52. p. 366, note 85.    <sup>2</sup> See note.

Tablet of possession of Shekartilla, son of Akipteshup: one imer of irrigated land in the fields of the gate, in the plain of the district of Kipantilwa, (5) north of the road of the district of Zirri, below the lands of Shata, south of the land of Aripsherish, (10) into possession for three years to Ilanu, son of Tayuki, he has given. And Ilanu twenty minas of lead, two minas of wrought bronze, (and) one ewe, thrice clipped, (15) to Shekartilla has given. When the three years of the land have been fulfilled, twenty minas of lead, two minas of bronze, (and) one sound ewe, Shekartilla (20) to Ilanu shall return and his land he shall take back. If the land has a claimant, Shekartilla shall clear it. If the land (25) had been plowed over, he shall not take it. Out of the midst of the land the moiety shall not be removed. Whosoever within the three years breaks the agreement shall furnish one ox.

(30) The tablet was written after the proclamation in <sup>c</sup>Nuzi.

Six witnesses and signature of scribe.

(38) As for the sheep, it was received in the month of Impurtani.

Six seals.

14. *baqānu* "to clip" as contrasted with *qašūšu* "to shear".

39. *Impurtalanni* for the usual *Impurtanni* (cf. e. g., *HSS* V. 2.11) shows the characteristic *tl* element (hence *Impurtlanni*).

## 3 (81)

(1)  $\text{tup-pí di-te-en-nu-ti}$  (2)  $\text{ša } {}^m\text{Ki-ir-ru-ka}_4 \text{ mār Ik-ki-e-a}$   
 (3) 1 imēr eqla i-na ugar dimti (4)  $\text{ša } {}^m\text{Ni-ir-na-te i-na}$  (5)  $\text{šu-pa-al}$   
 $\text{eqli ša } {}^m\text{Pal-te-e}$  (6) i-na sú-ta-an eqli  $\text{ša } {}^m\text{Ḫa-aš-te-e}$  (7) i-na  
 $\text{e-li-en eqli ša } {}^m\text{Ḫu-pí-ta}$  (8)  $\text{mi-dá-sú 1 ma-la 20 šēpē ši-id-du}$   
 (9)  $\text{ù pí-ir-ki-šu 1 šu-ši ša eqli ša-a-šu}$  (10) a-na di-te-en-nu-ti  
 (11)  ${}^m\text{Ki-ir-ru-ka a-na } {}^m\text{I-la-nu}$  (12)  $\text{mār Ta-a-a-ú-ki it-ta-din}$   
 (13)  $\text{ù } {}^m\text{I-la-nu 14 manē a-na-ku}$  (14) 3 manē  $\text{šipāta}^{\text{pl}}$  a-na  
 ${}^m\text{Ki-ir-ru-ka ittadnu}^{\text{uu}}$  (15)  $\text{im-ma-ti-me-e 4 šanāti}^{\text{pl}}$  (16)  $\text{im-ta-}$   
 $\text{lu-ú 14 manē a-na-ku}^{\text{pl}}$  (17) [3] manē  $\text{šipāta}^{\text{pl}}$   ${}^m\text{Ki-ir-ru-ka}$   
 (18)  $[\text{a-na}] \text{a } {}^m\text{I-la-nu i-na-an-}[\text{dín } \text{ù}] \text{ eqla i-li-qì}$  (19)  $\text{šum-ma}$   
 $\text{eqlu ma-a-ru 1} [\text{a i-li-}] \text{qì}$  (20)  $\text{qa-as-qa iš-tù [eqli]}$  (21)  ${}^m\text{Ki-ir-}$   
 $\text{ru-ka}_4$  (22)  $\text{la i-li-qì}$  (23)  $\text{šum-ma eqlu pá-qí-r} [\text{a-na}]$  (24)  $\text{i-ra-aš-ši}$   
 ${}^m\text{Ki-ir-}[\text{ru-ka}_4]$  (25)  $\text{ú-za-ak-ka}_4\text{-ma a-na}$  (26)  ${}^m\text{I-la-nu i-na-an-din}$   
 (27)  $\text{tup-pu i-na arki}^{\text{ki}}$  (28)  $\text{šu-du-ti i-na bá-ab}$  (29)  $\text{a-bu-ul-li ša}$   
 $\text{Ti-ša-e}$  (30)  $\text{ša } {}^c\text{Nu-zu ša-tì-ir}$

(31)  $\text{maḥar Zi-ku-ur-ta } {}^m\text{Ta-e-na}$  (32)  $\text{mārū}^{\text{pl}}$   $\text{Ta-ki-ia}$   
 (33)  $\text{maḥar Mu-ut-ta mār Zi-en-ni}$  (34)  $\text{maḥar } \text{Ḫu-pa-til mār}$   
 $\text{Tar-mi-ia}$  (35)  $\text{maḥar Pa-i-ig-gi-ir-ḫe mar Pu-ú-ta}$  (36)  $\text{qāt}$   
 ${}^m\text{Ka}_4\text{-si } \text{tupšar-rum}$

Seals of Kirruka and of the above witnesses.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly an oversight for *maḥar*.

Tablet of possession of Kirruka, son of Ikkiea: one imer of land in the fields of the district of Nirrate, (5) below the land of Palte, south of the land of Hashte, (and) above the land of Hupita, its measurements (being) one full (hundred?) twenty feet as to length, and its extent sixty (feet?) of that field, (10) into possession Kirruka to Ilanu, so of Tayuki, has given. And Ilanu fourteen minas of lead, (and) three minas of wool, to Kirruki has given. (15) When three years have been fulfilled, fourteen minas of lead, (and) three minas of wool, Kirruka to Ilanu shall deliver and his land he shall take back. If the field had been plowed over, he shall not take it. (20) The moiety from that land Kirruka shall not remove. If the field has a claimant, Kirruka shall (25) clear it and to Ilanu he shall restore it.

The tablet was written after the proclamation in the entrance of the gate of Tishshae of the city of Nuzi.

Five witnesses and scribe.

Seals of the above witnesses and of Kirruka.

8-9. The measurements given are obscure; *šiddu* is well-known in the sense of "surface," and *perku* has the meaning of "extent," but the whole does not make much sense. Perhaps *ša* in line 9 was added by mistake; in that case we should have to translate: "and its extent is sixty units. That field into possession . . .", which yields an intelligible statement.

## 4 (87)

(1) [ṭup]-pi ti-te-en-nu-ti (2) [š]a <sup>m</sup>Ū-na-ap-te-šup (3) mār Ḫa-na-a-a 1 imēr eqla (4) i-na ugari ša dimit Na-ri-ia-wa (5) i-na e-li-en ḥarrāni<sup>m</sup> ša dimit Ta-am-qa-ar-ra (6) i-na il-ta-a-an eqli ša <sup>m</sup>Ša-ar-til-la (7) i-na su-ta-a-an eqli ša <sup>m</sup>A-kap-tùg-gi (8) i-na šu-pa-al eqli ša <sup>m</sup>A-kap-tùg-gi (9) <sup>m</sup>Ū-na-ap-te-šup a-na di-te-en-nu-ti (10) a-na 3 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> a-na <sup>m</sup>Il-li-ma-ḥi (11) mār Ḫl-a-nu-u iddin<sup>din</sup> ù (12) u <sup>m</sup>Il-li-ma-ḥi 1 šubāta eš-šu šu-qù-ul-ta-šu 5 manē damqu<sup>q</sup> (13) 15 i-na am-ma-ti mu-ra-ak-šu (14) 5 i-na am-ma-ti ru-pu-us-sú (15) 2 manē siparra a-na di-te-en-nu-ti (16) a-na <sup>m</sup>Ū-na-ap-te-šup at-ta-din (17) im-ma-ti-mi-e 3 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> (18) im-ta-lu-ú 1 šubāta 2 manē siparra (19) a-na <sup>m</sup>Il-li-ma-ḥi u-ta-ar eqla-šu (20) i-li-qì šum-ma eqlu pí-ir-qa (21) ir-ta-ši <sup>m</sup>Ū-na-ap-te-šup eqla ša-a-šu-ma (22) ú-za-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-ma a-na <sup>m</sup>Il-li-ma-ḥi (23) i-na-an-din iš-tu eqli ni<sup>1</sup>-ik-sà (24) la i-na-ak-ki-is šum-ma eqlu ma-a-a-ru la i-li-qì (25) ṭup-pu an-ni-i (26) i-na arki<sup>ki</sup> šu-du-ti (27) a-šar x<sup>2</sup> a-bu-ul-li (28) ša Ti<sub>4</sub>-iš-šá-e (29) i-na <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi ša-ṭi-ir (30) maḥar <sup>m</sup>Ip-ša-ḥa-lu mār Zi-ni-e (31) maḥar <sup>m</sup>Ḫu-ti-pa-pu mār Ki-pí-til-la (32) ša <sup>c</sup>Kap-ra-gal (33) maḥar <sup>m</sup>Te-ḥi-ip-zi-iz-za mār Ḫa-la-ḥi-ši (34) maḥar Tù-ra-ri mār Ip-ša-ḥa-lu (35) maḥar <sup>m</sup>Ḫu-ti-ip-til-la mār E-en-šuk-rum (36) ša dimit Ū-ri-ḥa-a-wa (37) qāt <sup>md</sup>Šamaš-nāšir ṭupšarru mār A-ki-ia (38) maḥar <sup>m</sup>A-kip-til-la mār Ḫa-ši-ip-til-la

(39) ma-an-nu-um-mi-e i-na be-ri-šu-nu ibalkatu<sup>tu</sup> (40) 1 alpa<sup>uš</sup> u-ma-al-la

(41) maḥar Pa-i-te mār A-ri-ia ša dimit U-til-wa

Seals of the witnesses mentioned in lines 30, 33-38 (including the scribe).

<sup>1</sup>Text has *ir*, an obvious error. <sup>2</sup>The scribe wrote here the vertical wedge, doubtless by mistake.

Tablet of possession of Unapteshup, son of Hanaya: one imer of land in the fields of the district of Nariyawa, (5) above the road of the district of Tamqarra, north of the land of Shartilla,

(and) below the land of Akaptuggi, Unapteshup into possession (10) for three years to Ilimahi, son of Ilanu, has given. And Ilimahi one new cover weighing five minas, in good condition, fifteen cubits in length and five cubits in width, (15) (and) two minas of bronze, into possession to Unapteshup has given. When the three years have been fulfilled, one cover (and) two minas of bronze to Ilimahi he shall return (and) his land (20) he shall take back. If there is a claim against the land, Unapteshup shall clear that land and restore it to Ilimahi. From the land no cut shall be made. If the land had been plowed over, he shall not take it back.

(25) This tablet was written after the proclamation in the Tishshae gate, in <sup>c</sup>Nuzi.

Seven witnesses and signature of scribe.

(39) Whosoever between them breaks the contract shall furnish one bull.

One other witness. Seven seals.

5. District of Tamqarra corresponds to Merchants' district.

23. This is a variant form of the *kaška* clause; cf. above, section 7.

35. The spelling *E-en-šuk-rum* is instructive because it shows that *EN* as the first element in proper names need not be rendered as *Bél*, unless the Semitic etymology is beyond dispute.

## 5 (83)

(1) <sup>1</sup>tup-pí di-te-en-nu-ti (2) ša <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup mār Ar-ru-um-ti (3) 1 imēr 2 <sup>i</sup>awehari<sup>1</sup> eq<sup>1</sup>la i-na ugar <sup>c</sup>Nu-zu (4) i-na šu-pa-al ḥarrāni<sup>1</sup> (5) ša dimit Ka<sub>4</sub>-ri i-na (6) il-ta-an eq<sup>1</sup>li ša <sup>m</sup>Ḫu-ti-ši-mi-ka<sub>4</sub> (7) i-na e-li-en eq<sup>1</sup>li ša (8) <sup>m</sup>Še-el-lu-tup-pa (9) a-na<sup>2</sup> di-te-en-nu-ti <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup (10) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu mār Ta-a-a-ú-ki (11) it-ta-din ù <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu (12) 5 imēr šēa<sup>pl</sup> i-na sūti<sup>3</sup> ša 8 qa (13) ù 5 manē šipāta<sup>pl</sup> (14) a-na <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup it-ta-din (15) im-ma-ti-me-e 2 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> (16) im-ta-lu-ú kaspā<sup>pl</sup> (17) ša pi-í <sup>1</sup>tup-pí an-ni (18) <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu (19) ú-ta-ar ù eq<sup>1</sup>la-šu (20) i-li-qì šum-ma eq<sup>1</sup>lu (21) pa-qí-ra-na i-ra-aš-ši (22) <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup (23) ú-za-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-ma (24) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu i-na-an-din (25) lišān-šu ša <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-te-šup (26) i-na pa-ni awēlūti<sup>pl</sup> ši-bu-ti (27) an-nu-ti iq-ta-bi (28) eqlāti<sup>pl</sup> a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu at-ta-din (29) ù kaspā<sup>pl</sup> an-nu-ú (30) ša pí-i <sup>1</sup>tup-pí an-ni-i (31) a-šar <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu (32) el-te-qì-mi šum-ma eqlāti<sup>pl</sup> (33) ma-a-ru la i-li-qu-ú

(34) ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na be-ri-šu-nu (35) ša ibalkatu<sup>u</sup> 1 alpa ú-ma-la

(36) maḥar Ka<sub>4</sub>-pu-li mār Gi-lu-ma-ri (37) maḥar Še-kar-til-la mār (38) <sup>m</sup>Tul-pi-ia (39) maḥar Šuk-ri-ia mār En-šuk-ru (40) 3 awēlūtu<sup>pl</sup> mu-še-el-wu (41) ša eqli

ṭup-pu i-na a-bu-li (42) mādi ša <sup>c</sup>Nu-zu ša-ṭi-ir

(43) maḥar Za-ap-su mār Gi-lu-ma-ri (44) maḥar Ki-il-li mār (45) At-ti-la-mu (46) qāt <sup>m</sup>Ka<sub>4</sub>-si ṭupšar-rum

Seals of the above witnesses with the exception of Tulpiya.

\* APIN. \* Ligature. \* GIS.BAR.

Tablet of possession of Shukriteshup, son of Arrumti: one imer (and) two aweharu of land in the fields of <sup>c</sup>Nuzi, below the road (5) of the Kari district, north of the land of Hutishimika, above the land of Shellutuppa, into possession Shukriteshup (10) to Ilanu, son of Tayuki, has given. And Ilanu five imers of grain by the measure of eight qa, and five minas of wool, to Shukriteshup has given. (15) When two years have been fulfilled, the capital stated in this tablet Shukriteshup to Ilanu shall return, and his land (20) he shall take back. If the land has a claimant, Shukriteshup shall clear it (and) restore it to Ilanu. (25) The declaration of Shukriteshup (which) he made in the presence of these witnesses: The lands to Ilanu I have given, and this capital (30) I have received. If the land had been plowed over, he shall not take it back. Whosoever between them breaks the contract (35) shall furnish one ox.

Names of three witnesses.

(40) Three surveyors of the land. The tablet was written in the great gate of <sup>c</sup>Nuzi.

Two other witnesses and signature of scribe. Five seals.

12. For the "measure of eight qa" cf. note to 1. 29.

33. *I-li-qú-ú* in place of the singular, one of the many examples of faulty grammar.

38. *Tul-pi-ia* and not *Hap-pi-ia* on the analogy of names like *Tu-ul-pu-na-ia*, HSS V. 65. 6.

39. For *En-šuk-ru* (not *Bēl-šukru*) see note to 4. 35.

6 (84)

(1) ṭup-pi di-te-en-nu-ti ša (2) <sup>m</sup>Ka-ri-ru mār Ka-ti-ri

(3) 2 imēr eqla i-na li-it eqlāti<sup>pl</sup> (4) ša <sup>m</sup>Mār-<sup>d</sup>Adad a-na di-te-en-nu-ti (5) ki-ma 2 bilat erī<sup>pl</sup> a-na 3 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> (6) a-na <sup>m</sup>Ak-ku<sub>8</sub>-ia mār Ka-ti-ri (7) i-din ù <sup>m</sup>Ak-ku<sub>8</sub>-ia 2 bilat erā<sup>pl</sup> (8) a-na <sup>m</sup>Ka-ri-ru i-din ù li-šān-šu (9) ša <sup>m</sup>Ka-ri-ru a-na pa-ni šī-bu-ti (10) iq-ta-bi 2 bilat erā<sup>pl</sup> a-šar (11) <sup>m</sup>Ak-ku<sub>8</sub>-ia el-qī-mi ù (12) 2 imēr eqla ad-din-mi e-nu-ma (13) 3 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> im-ta-lu-ú 2 bilat erā<sup>pl</sup> (14) <sup>m</sup>Ka-ri-ru a-na <sup>m</sup>Ak-ku<sub>8</sub>-ia (15) ú-ta-ar-ma ù eqla-šú i-liq-qī (16) šum-ma eqlu an-nu-ú pa-qí-ra<na> irtašī<sup>ši</sup> (17) ù i-na li-it eqli-ma an-ni-i (18) eqla ma-la eqli-ma <sup>m</sup>Ka-ri-ru (19) a-na <sup>m</sup>Ak-ku<sub>8</sub>-ia i-na-din

(20) maḥar Ku-uš-ša-a-a mār Ha-tar-te (21) maḥar Eḫ-ḫi-ia mār E-ra-ti (22) maḥar E-ni-ia mār Eḫ-li-ia (23) maḥar Ut-ḫap-še-en-ni mār KI.MIN (24) 4 awēlūtū<sup>pl</sup> an-nu-tu, mu-še-el-wu-ú ša eqli (25) maḥar Ḫu-ti-ia mār A-ri-ip-šarri (26) maḥar Ū-ku-ia mār Šu-pa-a-a (27) maḥar Ki-pu-gur mār Šu-pa-a-a (28) maḥar Taš-ši mār <sup>d</sup>Sin-na-din-aḫa (29) maḥar Ta-ú-uḫ mār Eḫ-li-ip-šarri (30) maḥar A-kī-ia mār Šu-pa-a-a (31) maḥar <sup>d</sup>Nabū-ilu<sup>1</sup> ṭupšarru mār <sup>d</sup>Sin-nap-ḫir

Seals of the witnesses mentioned in ll. 20, 23,<sup>2</sup> 25, and 26.

<sup>1</sup> AN.AK.AN.RA. <sup>2</sup> After the names on the first two seals the sign for *šibu* is added.

Tablet of possession of Karira, son of Katiri: two imers of land bordering on the land of Mar-Adad, into possession (5) in exchange for two talents of copper, for three years to Akkuya, son of Katiri, he has given. And Akkuya two talents of copper to Kariru has given. And his declaration Kariru in the presence of witnesses (10) made: Two talents of copper from Akkuya I have received, and two imers of land I have given. When three years have been fulfilled, two talents of copper Kariru to Akkuya (15) shall return and his land he shall take back. If the land has a claimant, then adjoining to that land a field equal in size Kariru to Akkuya shall give.

Names of four witnesses.

(24) These four men are the surveyors of the land.

Seven other witnesses. Four seals.

5. The phrase "in exchange for two talents of copper" emphasizes the reciprocal character of the transaction.

## 7 (85)

(1) ʔup-pí di-te-en-nu-ti ša (2) <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-na-a-a mār Ar-ti<sub>4</sub>-ir-wi ù  
 ša <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til mār Ar-ha-ma-an-na (3) 1 imēr 2 <sup>is</sup>aweḫari eqla  
 i-na<sub>i</sub>-na dimti<sup>1</sup> (4) ša <sup>m</sup>Šá-an-ta-al-lu-uk-wa (5) i-na su-ta-ni eqli  
 ša <sup>m</sup>Ha-na-a-a (6) i-na il-ta-na-ni eqli ša <sup>m</sup>I-ri-gi-ga<sup>2</sup> (7) <ana>  
 5 šanāti a-na di-te-en-nu-ti (8) a-na <sup>m</sup>Īl-a-nu mār Ta-ú-ki ittadnu<sup>nu</sup>  
 (9) ù <sup>m</sup>Īl-a-nu 3 imēr šēa (10) 2 manē 10 šiqil<sup>3</sup> erā x<sup>4</sup> 40 qa kibata  
 (11) a-na <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-na-a-a a-na <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til inandinu<sup>nu</sup> im-ma-ti<sup>5</sup>-e  
 (12) 5 šanāti im-ta-lu kaspu<sup>pl</sup> (13) ša pí-i ʔup-pí-an-nu-u ù ša  
 ʔup-pí la-bi-rum (14) <sup>m</sup>Ha-na-a-a <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til a-na <sup>m</sup>Īl-a-nu  
 (15) utār-ra eqla il-qì (16) šum-ma eqlu pí-ir-qà (17) i-ra-ši ù  
 Ḫa-na-a-a (18) <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til u-za-ka-ma a-na (19) <sup>m</sup>Īl-la-nu-ú  
 i-na-an-di-in-nu (20) ma-an-nu-um-<me>-e <ina> 5 šanāti<sup>pl</sup>  
 (21) ibalkatu<sup>tu</sup> 1 alpa umallā<sup>la</sup> (22) lišān-šu ša <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-na-a-a ša  
<sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til šēa<sup>pl</sup> il-qì

(23) maḫar Ta-an-ki-ia mār A-kap-še (24) maḫar Ḫa-ni-ir-ra  
 mār E-te-ia (25) maḫar Ut-ḫap-ta-e mār Ta-an-ki-ia (26) maḫar  
 Šuk-ra-pu mār Eḫ-li-pa-pu (27) maḫar Tù-ra-ri mār Ip-šá-ḫa-lu  
 (28) maḫar Mu-ut-ta mār Zi-in-ni (29) maḫar A-kap-tùg-gi mār  
 Ni-iš-ḫu-ḫa

(30) šum-ma eqlu mād la i-na-ki-is (31) šum-ma šiḫir la  
 <ú>-ra-ad-di, ù (32) eqla ka-aš-ka la i-li-qì kaspu<sup>pl</sup> i-na <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi  
 u-ta-ar-ma

Seals of the witnesses mentioned in II. 25-30.

<sup>1</sup> The last sign of the ideogram (AN.ZA.QAR) is written AM. <sup>2</sup> Written over erasure; cf. 20. 9. <sup>3</sup> SU. <sup>4</sup> Before the number there is a sign which appears to be ú, probably an erasure. <sup>5</sup> The word was apparently pronounced by the writer of this tablet without the m, cf. 20. 11.

Tablet of possession of Hutiya, son of Artirwi, and of Shennatil, son of Arhamanna: one imer (and) two aweharu of land in the district of Shantalluk, (5) south of the land of Hanaya, (and) north of the land of Irigiga, for five years into possession to Ilanu, son of Tayuki, they have given. And Ilanu three imers of barley, (10) two minas (and) twenty shekels of bronze, (and) forty qa of wheat, to Hanaya (and) to Shennatil shall give. When the five years have been fulfilled, the capital mentioned in this tablet and that of the old tablet Hanaya (and) Shennatil to Ilanu (15) shall return and the land they shall take back. If there is a claim

against the land, Hanaya (and) Shennatil shall clear it and to Ilanu they shall restore it. Whosoever (within) the five years breaks the contract shall furnish one ox.

The declaration(s) of Hanaya (and) of Shennatil: The grain has been received.

Seven witnesses.

(30) If the field is large, it shall not be curtailed; if the field is small, it shall not be enlarged; and the moiety of the field shall not be removed. The capital is to be paid back in °Nuzi.

• Five seals.

This tablet shows how bad a Nuzian text could really be. The writer could not have had more than the merest smattering of Akkadian. The phonetic complements (*nu*) in lines 8 and 11 are out of place in these contexts; the prepositions before 5 *šanāti* are omitted in 7 and 20; line 13 shows complete disregard of grammatical agreement; in line 20 we have *il-qī* for *nilteqī*, and so forth.

10. In a personal communication Meissner kindly calls my attention to the fact that *SU* is part of a shekel rather than a shekel. The difficulty is that the shekel as such is never mentioned in these tablets; since *SU* is here the only subdivision of the mina, the value "shekel" has been retained.

32. *Eqla kaška* may also be translated as "the field moiety."

### 8 (88)

(1) *ṭup-pí di-te<sup>1</sup>-en-nu-ti* (2) *ša mTa-i-til-la mār Na-ḫi-ia*  
 (3) 7 *isaweḫari eqla i-na dimti* (4) *ša mAk-ku-ia i-na e-li-en-nu*  
 (5) *eqlāti<sup>ti</sup> ša mA-ri-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>-ma-ri* (6) *i-na su-ta-an-nu-ú eqlāti<sup>ti</sup>*  
 (7) *ša mPal-te-šup i-na il-ta-an-na-nu* (8) *eqlāti<sup>ti</sup> ša mE-gi-gi*  
 (9) *a-na di-te-en-nu-ti a-na 4 šanāti<sup>pl</sup>* (10) *a-na mZi-iq-na-<sup>d</sup>Adad*  
*mār Ša-ri-iš-še iddin<sup>din</sup>* (11) *ù mZi-iq-na-<sup>d</sup>Adad* (12) 10 *imēr šēa<sup>pl</sup>*  
*a-na mTa-i-til-la iddin<sup>din</sup>* (13) *im-ma-ti-me-e 4 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> eqli*  
 (14) *im-ta-lu-ú 10 imēr šēa<sup>pl</sup>* (15) *mTa-i-til-la a-na mZi-iq-na-<sup>d</sup>Adad*  
 (16) *ú-ta-ar-ma ù eqla-šu* (17) *i-liq-qī šum-ma eqlu*  
*pá-qí-ra-na* (18) *i-ra-aš-ši ù mTa-i-til-la* (19) *ú-za-ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-ma a-na*  
*mZi-iq-na-<sup>d</sup>Adad* (20) *i-na-an-din ma-an-nu-um-me-e* (21) *ina*  
*bēri<sup>2</sup>-šu<-nu> ibalkatu<sup>tu</sup>* (22) 1 *lia<sup>3</sup> umallā ṭup-pu* (23) *an-nu-ú*  
*ina arki<sup>ki</sup>* (24) *šu-du-ti ina °Nu-zi* (25) *sa-ti-ir*

(26) *qāt mSAG.KI ṭupšarru* (27) *maḫar Tù-ra-ri mār Ḫa-ši-ia*  
 (28) *maḫar Ḫa-šu-a-ar mār Ta-a-a* (29) *maḫar Ḫa-ši-ip-pá-ra-al-la*  
*mār Tur-rum* (30) *maḫar A-kip-še<sup>4</sup>-en-ni mār Ar-ta-še-en-ni*



(31) maḥar Zi-ka<sub>4</sub>-ta mār Šu-ta-mi-ia (32) maḥar En-na-pá-li mār Ḫa-na-tù

Seals of the witnesses mentioned in *ll.* 27, 29, 30, and of the scribe.

<sup>1</sup> After *te* the text has *ti*, doubtless by mistake.

<sup>2</sup> *RI.BA.NA.*

<sup>3</sup> *GUD.LID.* <sup>4</sup> Scribe wrote *bu*, but cf. seal, 35.

Tablet of possession of Taitilla, son of Nahiya: seven aweharu of land in the district of Akkuya, above (5) the lands of Arikkamari, south of the lands of Palteshup, (and) north of the lands of Egigi, into possession for four years (10) to Ziqna-Adad, son of Sharishshe, he has given. And Ziqna-Adad ten imers of barley to Taitilla has given. When the four years of the land have been fulfilled, ten imers of barley (15) Taitilla to Ziqna-Adad shall return and his land he shall take back. If the land has a claimant, Taitilla shall clear it and to Ziqna-Adad (20) he shall restore it. Whosoever between them breaks the agreement shall furnish one cow.

This tablet after the proclamation in 'Nuzi (25) was written.

Signature of scribe; six witnesses. Seven seals.

31. *Zikata* is probably a development from *Ziqna-Adad*.

### 9 (90)

(1) ṭup-pí ti-te-en-nu-ti (2) ša E-ḫe-el-te-šup (3) mār Pu-ḫi-ia 1 imēr eqlāti<sup>pl</sup> (4) i-na dimit Ka<sub>4</sub>-ti-ri (5) ki-mu-ú 3 imēr šēi<sup>pl</sup> 2 imēr ku-ni-šu (6) 2 immerē<sup>pl</sup> a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti (7) a-na 5 šanāti<sup>coll</sup> a-na Ak-ku-ia id-dì-in (8) im-ma-ti-me-e 5 šanāti<sup>coll</sup> (9) im-ta-lu-ú 3 imēr šēa (10) 2 imēr ku-ni-šu ù 2 immerē<sup>pl</sup> (11) ú-ta-ar-ma ù eqla-ma (12) i-li-iq-qì

(13) maḥar Ka<sub>4</sub>-ri-ru mār Ka<sub>4</sub>-ti-ri (14<sup>1</sup>) maḥar Ut-ḫap-še-en-ni mār Eḫ-li-ia (15) maḥar Ta-a-a mār Ka<sub>4</sub>-ti-ri (16) 3 awēlūtu an-nu-tu<sub>4</sub> mu-še-el-mu-ú ša eqlāti<sup>u</sup> (17) maḥar Za-pa<sup>2</sup>-ki mār Ḫa-ma-an-na (18) maḥar Tù-tù-a-i mār Gi-ri-ra (19) maḥar Ar-ru-tup-pá mār Amurru-gāmil<sup>3</sup> (20) maḥar Ḫa<sup>4</sup>-ma-an-na mār Ka<sub>4</sub>-ti-ri (21) maḥar Šuk-ri-ia mār Gi-wi-ra-ri (22) maḥar dŠamaš-ilu-rēštu<sup>5</sup> mār Ta-a-a

Seals of the witnesses mentioned in *ll.* 13, 14, 15, 17.

(25) <sup>ab</sup>an<sup>kunuk</sup> E-ḫe-el-te-sup bēl eqlāti<sup>ti</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the copy the numbers are erroneously advanced by one. <sup>2</sup> Seal has *pá*. <sup>3</sup> *MAR.TU.SU.* <sup>4</sup> Text has *za* haplographically; cf. *ad loc.*

<sup>5</sup> *AN.UD.AN.SAG.*

Tablet of possession of Ehelteshup, son of Puhia: one imer of lands in the district of Katiri, (5) in exchange for three imers of barley, two imers of *millet*, and two sheep, into possession for five years to Akkuya he has given. When the five years have been fulfilled, three imers of barley, (10) two imers of *millet* and two sheep he shall return and his land he shall take back.

Names of three witnesses.

(17) These three men are the surveyors of the lands.

Six other witnesses. Five seals, of which the last is that of Ehelteshup, the owner of the lands.

25. The addition *bēl eqlāti* bears out our main argument concerning the character of the *ditennūtu*; the debtor remains the owner of the land, although it has been given into possession to the creditor.

#### 10 (82)

(1)  $\text{tup-pí ti-te-e[n-nu-ti ša]}$  (2)  $\text{Tar-mi-ia mār [ . . . ]}$   
 (3)  $\text{ù Tar-mi-ia mār-šu}$  (4)  $\text{Ku-un-nu a-na di-te-en-nu-ti}$   
 (5)  $\text{a-na 3 šanāti}^{\text{pl}}$   $\text{a-na di-te-en-nu-ti}$  (6)  $\text{a-na I-la-nu mār}$   
 $\text{Ta-a-a-ú-ki}$  (7)  $\text{it-ta-din ù I-la-nu}$  (8)  $\text{3 immerāti}^{\text{pl}}$   $\text{3-šu bá-aq-nu}$   
 (9)  $\text{1 immeru}^1$   $\text{3-šu bá-aq-nu}$  (10)  $\text{1 ka}_4\text{-lu-mu}^{\text{uš}}$   $\text{hu-ra-pu ša}$   
 $\text{pá-aq-nu i-na arhi}^{\text{bi}}$   $\text{[k]u-ri-il-li}$  (11)  $\text{1 šubātu eš-šu 6 manē}$   
 $\text{šu-qú-ul-ta-šu}$  (12)  $\text{an-nu-u kaspu}^{\text{pl}}$   $\text{a-na Tar-mi-ia}$  (13)  $\text{it-ta-din}$   
 $\text{im-ma-ti-me-e}$  (14)  $\text{3 šanāti}^{\text{pl}}$   $\text{im-ta-lu-lu}$  (15)  $\text{kaspa}^{\text{pl}}$   $\text{ša pí-i tup-pí}$   
 (16)  $\text{an-ni-i Tar-mi-ia}$  (17)  $\text{a-na I-la-nu ú-ta-ar}$  (18)  $\text{ù mār-šu}$   
 $\text{i-li-qì}$  (19)  $\text{šum-ma Ku-un-nu pa-qí-ra-na}$  (20)  $\text{i-ra-aš-ši}$   
 $\text{Tar-mi-ia}$  (21)  $\text{ú-za-ak-ka}_4\text{-ma a-na}$  (22)  $\text{I-la-nu i-na-an-din}$   
 (23)  $\text{ù I-la-nu}$  (24)  $\text{2 manē šipāta}^{\text{pl}}$   $\text{a-na šatti}$  (25)  $\text{ù šatti}$   
 $\text{ki-ma}$  (26)  $\text{lu-bu<ul>-ti-šu ša}$  (27)  $\text{Ku-un-nu a-na Tar-mi-ia}$   
 (28)  $\text{i-na-an-din šum-ma i-na 1 ūmi}^{\text{mi}}$   $\text{ši-pi-ir-šu}$  (29)  $\text{ša I-la-nu}$   
 $\text{Ku-un-nu e-zi-ib}$  (30)  $\text{1 manū erā u-ri-ḥul-šu sa ūmi}^{\text{mi}}$   
 (31)  $\text{ù ūmi}^{\text{mi}}$   $\text{Tar-mi-ia}$  (32)  $\text{a-na I-la-nu ú-ma-al-la}$   
 (33)  $\text{ma-an-nu-um-me-e i-na be-ri-šu-nu}$  (34)  $\text{ša ibalkatu}^{\text{tu}}$   $\text{1 alpa}$   
 $\text{ú-ma-al-la}$

(35)  $\text{maḥar K[i-il-] li mār At-ti-la-mu}$  (36)  $\text{maḥar Š[i-mi]-}$   
 $\text{ka}_4\text{-ri mār Te-hi-ip-šarru}$  (37)  $\text{maḥar Ha-[ši-ip]-til-la mār Ur-ḥi-ia}$   
 (38)  $\text{maḥar Šuk[-ri-ia] mār Til-li-ia}$  (39)  $\text{maḥar [Ki-in-i]a mār}$   
 $\text{Ik-ki-ia}$  (40)  $\text{maḥar [Še-ḥa-al-te-šup] mār}$  (41)  $\text{[ Tar-mi-ia]}$   
 (42)  $\text{qāt [Ka}_4\text{]-si tupšar-rum}$

Seals of the above witnesses.

<sup>1</sup> LU.NITA.

Tablet of possession of Tarmiya, son of . . . , whereby his son Kunnu into possession (5) for five years to Ilanu, son of Tayuki, he has given. And Ilanu three ewes, thrice clipped, one male sheep, thrice clipped, (10) one spring lamb that was clipped in the month of Kurilli, one new cover weighing six minas, this capital to Tarmiya he has given. When three years have been fulfilled, (15) the capital stated in this tablet Tarmiya shall return to Ilanu and his son he shall take back. If Kunnu has a claimant, (20) Tarmiya shall clear him (and) restore him to Ilanu. Two minas of wool, year (25) by year, for the clothing of Kunnu to Tarmiya shall be given. If for one day the service of Ilanu Kunnu should leave, (30) one mina of copper, the compensation for one day, Tarmiya to Ilanu shall pay. Whosoever among them breaks the agreement shall furnish one ox.

Six witnesses and signature of scribe. Six seals.

This is the first document in this group in which the security is personal.

24. The provision that the creditor must furnish the clothing of the person "held in possession" sheds valuable light on local conditions.

29. HSS IX. 22. 18 has *i-pá-tur* in place of *e-zi-ib*.

# 11 (40)

(1) um-ma <sup>m</sup>Zi-gi mār Ta-i-til-la (2) i-na pa-ni awēlūti<sup>pl</sup> ši-bu-ti (3) ki-na-an-na iq-ta-bi (4) 12 manē anāka<sup>pl</sup> a-šar (5) <sup>m</sup>A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til mār El-li (6) el-te-qì-mi ù ra-ma-ni-ia (7) a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti i-na bīt<sup>pl</sup>it (8) ša <sup>m</sup>A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti (9) ki-ma 12 manē anāki<sup>pl</sup> ša-a-šu (10) uš-te-ri-ib ù šipra-šu epuš<sup>uš</sup> (11) im-ma-ti-me-e e-bur-šu itēpuš-ma 12 manē anāka<sup>pl</sup> (12) a-na <sup>m</sup>A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til ú-ta-ar-mi (13) ù ra-ma-ni-ia iš-tu bīti (14) ša <sup>m</sup>A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til u-še-iš-šī (15) šum-ma šipir-šu ša <sup>m</sup>A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til (16) a-na 1 ūmi<sup>mi</sup> e-zi-ib (17) 10 qa šēa ki-ma u-ri-ḥu-ul-lim (18) ša ūmi<sup>mi</sup> ù ūmi<sup>mi</sup> (19) a-na <sup>m</sup>A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til ú-ma-al-la (20) ša ibalkatu<sup>tu</sup> 1 alpa umallā (21) ṭup-pu i-na pa-ni abulli ina <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi ša<sub>7</sub>-ṭi-ir

(22) <sup>abankunuk</sup> Ki-in-ni <sup>awēl</sup>ma-šar ekalli (23) <sup>abankunuk</sup> Zi-li-ip-til-la mār Ḫu-ti-ia (24) <sup>abankunuk</sup> Ḫu-ti-in-na-wa-ar mār E-te-eš-še-en-ni (25) <sup>abankunuk</sup> Ta-i-te-šup mār Ša-ar-te-šup (26) <sup>abankunuk</sup> Zi-ra-a-a mār Ip-ša-ḥa-lu (27) <sup>abankunuk</sup> Ḫu-ti-ip-a-pu mār Pu-ri-sa (28) <sup>abankunuk</sup> Ni-ra-ri ṭupšarru mār Ta-a-a

Thus (says) Zigi son of Taitilla; in the presence of witnesses he declared, as follows: Two minas of lead from (5) Akawatil, son of Elli, I have received, and myself for possession into the house of Akawatil, as possession, in exchange for twelve minas of lead (10) I have caused to enter; and his work I shall perform. When his harvest he gathers, twelve minas of lead to Akawatil I shall return and from the house of Akawatil I shall free myself. (15) If the work of Akawatil for a single day I should leave, ten qa of barley as compensation for each day to Akawatil I shall furnish.

He who breaks the agreement shall furnish one ox.

The tablet was written in the gate, in <sup>c</sup>Nuzi.

Seven seals.

For a discussion of this document see section 1.

12 (38)

(1) lišān-šu ša <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-ši-ip-til-la mār Ur-ḫi-ia (2) a-na pa-ni šī-bu-ti ki-am i-q-ta-bi (3) 2 immerāti ša 4-šu-nu bá-aq-nu 2 immerāti ša 3-šu-nu bá-aq-nu (4) x<sup>1</sup> 2 ka<sub>4</sub>-lu-mu<sup>uš</sup> ḫu-ra-pu te-ir-te-en-nu-ti (5) napḫar 6 immer[āti]<sup>pl</sup> damqūti<sup>qá-ti pl</sup> ù (6) 3 manē šipāta<sup>pl</sup> a-šar <sup>m</sup>līl-a-nu mār Ta-a-a-ú-ki i-na arḫi<sup>bi</sup> Ḫi-in-zu-ur-ri-wa (7) el-te-qì ù i-na-an-na ki-mu-ú immer<sup>pl</sup> (8) ù ki-mu-ú šipāti<sup>pl</sup> an-nu-ti (9) 1 imēr 5 <sup>i</sup>awehari<sup>2</sup> eqla i-na il-ta-na-an eqli (10) ša <sup>m</sup>Arad-ti-ia ù ša <sup>m</sup>Ḫu-pi-ta (11) i-na šu-pa-al eqli ša <sup>m</sup>Pal-te-e-a (12) i-na su-ta-a-an eqli ša <sup>m</sup>A-ri-pu-gur (13) i-na e-li-en eqli ša <sup>m</sup>Tar-mi-ia (14) ša <sup>m</sup>līl-a-nu-ma u-ka<sub>4</sub>-al-lu a-na di-te-en-nu-ti (15) <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-ši-ip-til-la a-na <sup>m</sup>līl-a-nu iddinu<sup>nu</sup> (16) im-ma-ti-me-e 6 immerē u 3 manē šipāta<sup>pl</sup> i-na arḫi<sup>bi</sup> Ḫi-in-zu-ur-ri-wa (17) <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-ši-ip-til-la a-na <sup>m</sup>līl-a-nu utāru<sup>ru</sup> (18) ù eqla-šu i-liq-qì šum-ma ma-a-a-ru (19) ù la i-liq-qì šum-ma eqlu pí-ir-qa irtaš<sup>i</sup> (20) <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-ši-ip-til-la ú-za-ak-ka<sub>4</sub> a-na (21) <sup>m</sup>līl-a-nu i-na-an-din i-na lib-bi eqli (22) <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-ši-ip-til-la qa-aš-qa la i-liq-qì (23) ṭup-pu i-na arki<sup>ki</sup> šu-du-ti (24) i-na <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi ša-ṭi-ir

(25) maḫar līi-ma-a-ḫi mār Mu-uš-te-e-a (26) maḫar Zi-li-pa-pu mār A-kap-tùk-kí (27) maḫar Bil-<sup>d</sup>Adad mār A-kap-še-en-ni (28) maḫar <sup>d</sup>Sin-qur-dá mār Ta-an-ti-ia (29) maḫar Še-en-na-til mār It-ḫa-a-pu (30) maḫar A-mu<-ur<sup>3</sup>>-mi-te-šup mār šarri

Seals of the above witnesses.

<sup>1</sup> The preceding word is repeated by oversight. <sup>2</sup> APIN. <sup>3</sup> So on seal (I. 33).

The declaration of Hashiptilla, son of Urhiya; in the presence of witnesses he declared, as follows: Two ewes which have been clipped four times, two ewes which have been clipped three times, two spring kids (clipped) for the second (time); (5) altogether six sheep in sound condition, and three minas of wool from Ilanu, son of Tayuki, in the month of Hinzuri I received. And now, in exchange for the sheep and in exchange for the wool, one imer five aweharu of land, north of the field (10) of Arattiya and of Hupita, below the land of Palteya, south of the land of Aripugur, (and) above the land of Tarmiya, which Ilanu has been keeping in his possession, (15) Hashiptilla to Ilanu has given. When the six sheep and the three minas of wool Hashiptilla to Ilanu has returned, then his land he shall take back. If the field had been plowed over, he shall not take it. If there is a claim against the field, (20) Hashiptilla shall clear it and restore it to Ilanu. Out of the midst of the field the moiety Hashiptilla shall not remove.

The tablet was written after the proclamation in <sup>c</sup>Nuzi.

Six witnesses. Six seals.

13 (12)

(Case)

<sup>abank</sup>kunuk [<sup>m</sup>SAG.]KI <sup>ṭ</sup>pšar[*rum*]

(Tablet)

(1) um-ma A-ri-il-lu-um-ti-ma mār Ḫa-ši-in-na (2) ip-pá-na-an-nu-um-ma (3) 1 imēr 2 <sup>is</sup>aweḫari<sup>1</sup> eqla i-na <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi (4) i[-na e]l-te-na a-šar dimti (5) ša <sup>m</sup>Te-ḫi-ia a-na di-te-en-nu-ti (6) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu mār Ta-i-ú<sup>2</sup>-ki (7) at-ta-dì-in ù i-na-an-na (8) eqla ša-a-šu a-na di-te-en-nu-ti (9) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu-ú-ma (10) at-ta-dì-in ù <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu (11) 3 manē 30 šiqil<sup>3</sup> anāka<sup>pl</sup> (12) a-na <sup>m</sup>A-ri-il-lu-um-ti iddin<sup>m</sup> (13) im-ma-ti-me-e kaspu<sup>pl</sup> (14) ša pí-i ṭup-pi la-<be>-ri (15) ù 3 manē 30 šiqil<sup>c</sup> anāka<sup>pl</sup> (16) ša pí-i ṭup-pi an-ni-i (17) it-ti-ḫa-mi-iš (18) <sup>m</sup>A-ri-il-lu-um-ti (19) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu-ú (20) ú-ta-ar eqla-šu (21) i-liq-qì šum-ma eqlu (22) ma-a-ru la i-liq-qì (23) šum-ma eqlu pá-qí-ra-na (24) i-ra-aš-ši <sup>m</sup>A-ri-il-lu-<um<sup>4</sup>>-ti (25) ú-za-ak

(26) maḫar U-na-a-a mār Ḫi-in-ti-ia (27) maḫar Zi-gi-ku-

<ur<sup>5</sup>>-ši-im mār Ta-an-ki-ia (28) maḥar Gi-el-šu mārat Šarra-mu-li  
(29) maḥar Ḥa-ši-ip-te-šup mār Ḥu-ti-in-na-wa-ar

Seals of the above witnesses and of Sakki, the scribe.

<sup>1</sup> APIN. <sup>2</sup> The sign looks like *pa* but was undoubtedly intended for *u*.

<sup>3</sup> SU. <sup>4</sup> *um* may have been omitted here accidentally; it is also possible that the nasal was not pronounced consistently. The sign is also missing on the seal (l. 30). <sup>5</sup> So on seal (l. 32).

#### (Case) Seal of Sakki, the scribe.

Thus (says) Arillumti, son of Hashinna: Formerly, one imer (and) 2 aweharu of land in 'Nuzi, north of the district (5) of Tehiya, to Ilanu, son of Tayuki, into possession I gave; and now that land again to Ilanu (10) I have given. And Ilanu three minas (and) thirty shekels of lead to Arillumti has given. When the capital mentioned in the old tablet, (15) as well as that of this tablet, all of it, Arillumti to Ilanu (20) has returned, his land he shall take back. If the land had been plowed over, he shall not take it. If the land has a claimant, Arillumti shall clear it.

Four witnesses. Five seals.

#### 14 (18)

(1) um-ma <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til (2) mār A-ri-iḥ-ḥa-ma[-an-na]  
(3) ip-pa-na-an-nu-um-ma (4) 1 imēr 5 <sup>is</sup>aweḥaru<sup>1</sup> eqla a-bu-iā  
<sup>m</sup>A-ri-iḥ-ḥa-ma-an-na (5) i-na dimti ša <sup>m</sup>Ḥa-ši-ia-wa (6) i-na  
līb-bi-šu [bit]ātī<sup>2</sup> (7) a-na di-te-en-nu-ti a-na (8) <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu-ú  
iddin<sup>din</sup> (9) ù i-na-an-na eqla ša-a-šu-ma (10) a-na di-te-en-nu-ti  
a-na (11) 10 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu-ma mār Ta-i-ú-ki (12) at-ta-  
di-in ù <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu (13) 7 manē anāka<sup>pl</sup> 50 qa šēa<sup>pl</sup> (14) 1 immerta  
ša šinni<sup>ni</sup><sup>2</sup>-šu bá-aq-nu (15) a-na <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til iddin<sup>din</sup> (16) im-ma-  
ti-me-e 10 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> (17) eqli im-ta-lu-ú mi-nu-um-me-e (18) kaspu<sup>pl</sup>  
ša pí-i ṭup-pí-šu (19) ša la-be-ri ù kaspu<sup>pl</sup> (20) ša pí-i ṭup-pí  
an-ni-i (21) it-ti-ḥa-mi-iš <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til (22) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-an-nu-ú  
(23) ú-ta-ar šum-ma (24) eqlu pá-qi-ra-na i-ra-aš-ši (25) <sup>m</sup>Še-en-  
na-til ú-za-ak (26) šum-ma eqlu ma-a-ru la i-liq-qì (27) i-na līb-bi  
eqli ša-a-šu (28) a-na qa-aš-gi-ni-wa la i-liq-qì<sup>3</sup> (29) ma-an-nu-  
um-me-e (30) i-na bēri<sup>4</sup>-šu<nu> i-na 10 šanāti<sup>pl</sup> (31) ibalkatu<sup>ti</sup>  
1 alpa umallā<sup>pl</sup> (32) ù kaspa<sup>pl</sup> ina 'Nuzi ú-ta-ar

(33) maḥar Ḥu-pí-ta mār Ar-ša-še<sup>5</sup> (34) maḥar An-ni-šu mār  
Ḥa-bi-ra (35) maḥar Ur-ḥi-til-la mār KI.MIN (36) maḥar  
Ma-an-ni-ia mār Tù-ul-tù-uk-ka, (37) maḥar Ut-ḥap-ta-e mār

Ta-an-ti<sub>4</sub>-ia (38) maḥar Mu-ut-ta mār Zi-en-ni (39) maḥar Ka<sub>4</sub>-ni mār Šu-ra-pí (40) maḥar Ta-e-na mār Ta-an-ki-ia (41) maḥar Ḫa-ši-in-na mār A-kip-še-en-ni

Seals of the above witnesses except Manniya; also of *I-la-an-nu* and of *SAG.AN.KI*, the scribe.

<sup>1</sup> *APIN*.

<sup>2</sup> Text *sa*, partially erased.

<sup>3</sup> See vol. 52, p. 366, note 85.

<sup>4</sup> *RI.BA.NA*.

<sup>5</sup> Text *wa*.

Thus (says) Shennatil, son of Arihamanna: Formerly my father Arihamanna one imer (and) five aweharu of land (5) in the district of Hashiya, with buildings upon it, into possession to Ilanu gave. And now that land (10) into possession for ten years to that same Ilanu, son of Tayuki, I have given. And Ilanu seven minas of lead, fifty qa of barley (and) one ewe which has been clipped twice, (15) to Shennatil has given. When the ten years of the land have been fulfilled, all the capital mentioned in the old tablet, and the capital (20) of this tablet, all of it, Shennatil shall return to Ilanu. If the field has a claimant (25) Shennatil shall clear it. If the field had been plowed over, he shall not take it back. Out of the midst of that field the moiety he shall not remove. Whosoever (30) between them breaks the agreement shall furnish one ox. The capital is to be returned in <sup>c</sup>Nuzi.

Nine witnesses. Ten seals.

### 15 (22)

(1) lišan-šu ša <sup>m</sup>Tar-mi-ia mār Ur-ḫi-ia (2) a-na pa-ni awēlūti<sup>pl</sup> šībū<sup>pl</sup>-ti (3) ki-a-am iq-ta-bi (4) i-na pa-na-nu eqlu (5) a-na ti-te-en-nu-ti (6) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-a-nu mār Ta-ú-ki nadnu<sup>nu</sup> (7) ù i-na-an-na eqlu ša-a-šu-ma (8) a-na ti-te-en-nu<ti> a-na (9) <sup>m</sup>l-la-nu nadnu<sup>nu</sup> a-na-ku 3 manē anāka el-te-qì (10) e-nu-ma kaspu<sup>pl</sup> (11) ša la-bi-ru ša pì ṭup-pí (12) <sup>m</sup>Tar-mi-ia utāru<sup>ru</sup> (13) 3 manē anāka an-nu-ú (14) it-ti kaspi la-bi-ri (15) utāru<sup>ru</sup> ù eqla-šu (16) i-liq-qì (17) ṭup-pu ina arki šu-du-ti (18) ša-tì-ir (19) maḥar Tup-ki-še-en-ni mār Gi-ra-ar-til-la (20) maḥar Mu-ut-ta mār Zi-en-nu (21) maḥar En-na-mu mār Ḫu-pí-ta (22) maḥar Tù-ra-ar-te-šup ṭupšarru (23) mār It-ḫa-pí-ḫé

Seals of the above witnesses.

The declaration of Tarmiya, son of Urhiya; in the presence of witnesses he spoke, as follows: Formerly land (5) to Ilanu, son

of Tayukî, into possession was given. Now this same land has again been given to Ilanu into possession. I have received three minas of lead. (10) When the money which (is due of) old, as stated in the tablet, has been returned to Tarmiya, (and when) these three minas of lead as well as the old capital (15) have been returned, then he will take back his land.

The tablet was written after the proclamation.

Four witnesses. Four seals.

7. *eqlu šāšuma* "the same land again" emphasizes the extension of the old transaction.

### 16 (33)

(1) lišān-šu ša <sup>m</sup>Mi-na-aš-šuk (2) mār Tùk-ki-šu a-na pa-ni (3) awēlūti<sup>pl</sup> ši-bu-ti an-nu-ti (4) ki-am iq-ta-bi a-ni-na eqla i-na dimit Šā-an-ta-al-lu-uk-wa (5) <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-na-ak-kà aḫ a-bi-ia (6) ša a-na di-te-en-nu-ti (7) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu mār Ta-a-a-ú-ki (8) in-di<sub>4</sub>-nu ù i-na-an-na (9) a-na-ku eqlāti<sup>pl</sup> ša-a-šu-ma (10) a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu-ma at-ta-din (11) ù <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu 8 manē anāka<sup>pl</sup> 20 qa šēa<sup>pl</sup> (12) ki-i-ma eqli ša-a-šu a-na (13) <sup>m</sup>Mi-na-aš-šuk it-ta-din (14) ù im-ma-ti-me-e (15) 8 manē anāka<sup>pl</sup> 20 qa šēa<sup>pl</sup> (16) <sup>m</sup>Mi-na-aš-šu-uk a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu (17) ú-ta-ar ù kaspā<sup>pl</sup> (18) ša [p]í-i ṭup-pi la-bi-ri (19) <sup>m</sup>[Mi-na-aš]-šuk (20) it-ti kaspi<sup>pl</sup> an-ni-im (21) ú-ta-ar-ma ù eqla-šu (22) i-liq-qì šum-ma eqlu ša-a-šu (23) pí-ir-qá irtašī<sup>si</sup> ù (24) <sup>m</sup>Mi-na-aš-šuk ú-za-ak-kà

(25) maḥar Ū-mul-te-šup mār Te-ḫé<sup>1</sup>-še-en-ni (26) maḥar Mu-ut<sup>2</sup>-ta mār Zi-en-ni (27) maḥar Ar-ru-um-ti mār Ḫa-si-in-na (28) maḥar Ut-ḫap-ta-e mār Ū-mul-te-šup (29) maḥar Ta-e-na mār Ta-an-ki-ia (30) maḥar Ma-an-nu-ta-ri-iz-zu ṭupšarru (31) mār Ki-ri-il-ti<sup>d</sup>En-gur

(32) <sup>aban</sup><sup>m</sup>Mi-na-as-šuk ša eqla iddinu<sup>nu</sup>

Seals of the above witnesses, except Taena.

(36) i-na lib-bi eqli šá-a-šu ni-ik-šà la (37) i-na-ak-ki-is (38) ma-an-nu ša i-na bi-ri-šu<nu> ibalkatu (39) 2 alpā<sup>pl</sup> damqa<sup>qá</sup> umallā (40) ṭup-pu an-nu-ú (41) i-na arki<sup>ki</sup> šu-du-ti (42) i-na <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi šá-ti-ir

<sup>1</sup> After *hé* the text has *hi*. <sup>2</sup> Tablet has erroneously *wa*.

The declaration of Minashshuk, son of Tukkishu; in the presence of these witnesses he spoke, as follows: *As regards* the



land in the district of Shantalluk, (5) which Hanakka, the brother of my father, gave into possession to Ilanu, son of Tayuki, now the same land I (10) again to Ilanu have given. And Ilanu eight minas of lead (and) twenty qa of barley in exchange for that land to Minashshuk has given; and whenever (15) eight minas of lead (and) twenty qa of barley Minashshuk to Ilanu has returned, and the capital as stated in the old tablet Minashshuk (20) together with this money has returned, then his land he shall take back. If this land has a claim against it, Minashshuk shall clear it.

Seven witnesses. (32) The seal of Minashshuk who gave the land. Seals of the witnesses, except Taena (line 29).

(36) Out of the midst of that land the cut shall not be made. Whosoever between them, breaks the agreement shall furnish two sound oxen. (40) This tablet was written after the proclamation in 'Nuzi.

4. *Anina* (probably connected with the demonstrative pronoun *annu*) cannot be taken as a synonym of *ippanānumma*; cf. the position of the relative *ša*.

36. For this variation of the *kaška* clause cf. 4 and section 7. Another possible translation is "no part shall be stripped."

39. This is double the usual fine (one ox, one bull, or one cow).

17 (41)

(Case)

tup-pu ša 'Wu-lu-ia

(Tablet)

(1) um-ma 'Wu-lu-ia (2) mārat Tul-pi-še-en-ni (3) a-na-ku m'U-na-a-a mār-ia (4) a-na m'Il-la-nu al-ta-par-mi (5) 1 imēr eqla i-na ugar 'Nu-zi (6) i-na il-ta-an harrāni<sup>ni</sup> (7) ša 'An-zu-gal-li (8) i-na šu-pa-al eqli ša m'Si-il-wi-te-šup (9) a-na di-i-te-en-nu-ti (10) a-na m'Il-la-nu it-ta-din (11) ù i-na-an-na eqla (12) ša-a-šu-ma a-na di-i-te-en-nu-ti (13) a-na-ku a-na m'Il-la-nu (14) at-ta-din ù m'Il-la-nu (15) 2 manē a-na-ku<sup>pl</sup> (16) x<sup>1</sup> a-na (17) 'Wu-lu-ia it-ta-din (18) im-ma-ti-me-e (19) kaspu<sup>pl</sup> la-bi-ru (20) ša pí-i-tup-pi (21) ša m'U-na-a-a (22) ú-ta-ar-ru (23) ù 2 manē a-na-ku (24) 'Wu-lu-ia a-na (25) m'Il-la-nu ú-ta-ar (26) ù eqla ša-a-šu i-li-qí (27) šum-ma eqlu pá-qí-ra-na (28) i-ra-aš-ši 'Wu-ru<sup>2</sup>-ia (29) ú-za-ak-ka<sub>1</sub>-ma a-na (30) m'Il-la-nu i-na-an-din

(31) maḥar Wi-ra-ḥe mār Gi-en-na-pí (32) maḥar Ku-tup-pa

mār En-šuk-ru (33) maḥar Ḫu-ti-na-wa-ar mār E-te-še-en-ni  
(34) qāt <sup>m</sup>Ka<sub>4</sub>-si ṭupšar-rum

Seals of the above.

(37) aban <sup>f</sup>Wu-ru-ia bēl<sup>2</sup> eqli

<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>Il-la-nu erased. <sup>2</sup> Sic!

(Case)

Tablet of <sup>f</sup>Wuluya.

(Tablet)

Thus (says) <sup>f</sup>Wuluya, daughter of Tulpishenni: (Formerly) I delegated my son Unaya to Ilanu (and - 5) one imer of land in the fields of <sup>c</sup>Nuzi, north of the road to <sup>c</sup>Anzugalli, (and) below the land of Shilwiteshup, into possession (10) to Ilanu I gave. And now that same land into possession to Ilanu I have given. And Ilanu (15) two minas of lead to Wuluya has given. Whenever the old money, (20) as stated in the tablet of Unaya, they have returned, and the two minas of lead Wuluya (25) to Ilanu has returned, then this land she shall take back. If the land has a claimant, Wuluya shall clear it and (30) restore it to Ilanu.

Three witnesses and scribe. Five seals including that of Wuluya, owner of the land.

4. To "delegate" one is to make one *māhiṣ pātu* "plenipotentiary"; hence the tablet is called after the name of the person delegated (line 21).

15. The payment is in this case comparatively small; perhaps it was larger than usual in the original transaction.

28. *Wuruya* in text in place of *Wuluya* (line 1); this is one of the many instances of interchange between *r* and *l*.

18 (4)

(1) um-ma <sup>m</sup>I-la-a-a-ma (2) mār Ḫa-bi-ra a-na ia-ši (3) <sup>m</sup>Ḫu-pí-ta mār Ik-ki-e-a (4) ḫu-bu-ul-mi ù a-na-ku (5) <sup>m</sup>Ḫu-pí-ta a-na <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu (6) mār Ta-a-a-ú-ki iš-tap-ra-an-ni (7) 5 manē a-na-ku a-šar (8) <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu i-na muḫ-ḫi (9) kaspi<sup>pl</sup> ša eqlāti<sup>pl</sup> ša di-te-en-nu-ti (10) ša <sup>m</sup>Ki-ru-uk-ka mār Ik-ki-e-a (11) li-i-qì-mi ù i-na-an-na (12) 5 manē a-na-ku<sup>pl</sup> (13) a-šar <sup>m</sup>I-la-nu aš-šum (14) <sup>m</sup>Ḫu-pí-ta el-te-qì-mi (15) im-ma-ti-me-e kaspu<sup>pl</sup> (16) la-be-ru ša eqlāti<sup>pl</sup> (17) ša <sup>m</sup>Ki-ru-uk-ka ú-ta-ar-ru (18) ù a-na-ku<sup>pl</sup> ša-a-šu (19) it-t[i-ḫa-mi-iš] ú-ta-ar-ru (several lines destroyed)  
(20) qat <sup>m</sup>K[a<sub>4</sub>-si ṭupšarru]

- (21) aban <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-a-a (22) aban <sup>f</sup>A-zi-ra aban <sup>m</sup>Ka<sub>4</sub>-si  
 (23) aban <sup>m</sup>Ša-ar-te-e (24) aban <sup>m</sup>Ḫa-ši-ip-til-la

Thus (says) Ilaya, son of Habira: To me Hupita, son of Ikkiea, is debtor; and as for me, (5) Hupita to Ilanu, son of Tayuki, delegated me (saying): "Five minas of lead from Ilanu, on account of the money for the lands held in possession (10) from Kirukka, son of Ikkiea, take." And now five minas of lead from Ilanu in the name of Hupita I have received. (15) When the old capital (received) for the lands of Kirukka has been returned, and this lead, altogether, has been returned, (rest of text missing)

Signature of scribe. Five seals.

H. owes money to I.; the brother of the debtor had pawned his fields with Ilanu. Now H. empowers (*ištapranni*) the creditor to collect his debt against (*ina muḫḫi*) an extension of the loan in which the field had been used as security. Apparently the brothers hold the field jointly.

7. The singular *a-na-ku* after a number is but another instance of grammatical irregularity. Cf. also the preceding text, line 15.

### 19 (39)

- (1) um-ma <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til-ma mār Ši-mi-ia (2) 2 imēr 20 qa šēa<sup>pl</sup>  
 (3) 1 ma-la ku-du-uk-tù šipāta<sup>pl</sup> (4) 30 šiqil<sup>1</sup> anāka<sup>pl</sup> a-šar  
 (5) <sup>m</sup>A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til mār Zi-gi (6) el-te-qī-mi (7) ù 5 <sup>i</sup>awehari<sup>2</sup>  
 eqla a-šar dimti ša (8) <sup>m</sup>Ak-ku-ia ina šu-pa-al ḫarrāni<sup>ni</sup> (9) ù tū-bu-  
 uk-ka<sub>4</sub>-az-zu (10) ša eqli ḫarrāni<sup>pl</sup> ik-ki-is-sú (11) a-na di-te-en-  
 nu-ti (12) a-na <sup>m</sup>A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til (13) mār Zi-gi at-ta-di-in  
 (14) im-ma-ti-me-e (15) 2 imēr 20 qa šēa<sup>pl</sup> (16) 1 ma-la  
 ku<du>-uk-tù šipāta (17) 30 šiqil<sup>1</sup> anāka<sup>pl</sup> <sup>m</sup>Še-en-na-til (18) a-na  
<sup>m</sup>A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til utāru<sup>pl</sup> (19) eqla-šu i-li-qī

- (20) <sup>abankunuk</sup> SAG.KI ṭupšarru (21) <sup>abankunuk</sup> Ḫu-ti-ip-a-pu  
 mār Pu-ra-sa (22) <sup>abankunuk</sup> Ku-uš-ši-ia <sup>awel</sup>a-bu-ul-ta-an-nu  
 (23) aban Gi-ra-ar-til-la mār En-na-ma-ti

<sup>1</sup> SU. <sup>2</sup> APIN.

Thus (says) Shennatil, son of Shimiya: Two imers (and) twenty qa of barley, one full bale of wool, (and) thirty shekels of lead, from (5) Akawatil, son of Zigi, I have received. And five aweharu of land in the district of Akkuya, below the road—and the *adjacent parts* (10) of the land the road cuts through—into

possession to Akawatil, son of Zigi, I have given. When (15) two imers, twenty qa of barley, one full bale of wool, (and) thirty shekels of lead, Shennatil has returned to Akawatil, his land he shall take back.

Four seals.

20 (86)

(1) [ . . . ]<sup>pl</sup> šēa 20 qa kibata<sup>1</sup> 1 ḥa-aš-ší-nu ša 5 šiqli<sup>2</sup>  
 (2) š[a <sup>m</sup>]l̄-a-nu mār Ta-ú-ki (3) ù <sup>m</sup>Ḥa-na-a-a mār Ar-ti-ir-wi  
 (4) il-qì 3 <sup>is</sup>aweḥari<sup>3</sup> eq̄la (5) i-na dimti ša <sup>m</sup>Ša-an-tal-lu-uk  
 (6) i-na su-ta-ni eq̄li ša (7) <sup>m</sup>Šuk-ri-ia i-na il-ta-na-ni (8) eq̄li ša  
 I-ri-gi-ga (9) 3 šanāti a-na di-te-en-nu-ti (10) a-na <sup>m</sup>l̄-a-nu  
 ittadnu<sup>nu</sup> (11) im-ma-ti<sup>4</sup>-e 3 šanāti (12) im-ta-lu kaspa ša  
 (13) pí-i ṭup-pí <sup>m</sup>Ḥa-na-a-a i-na <sup>c</sup>Nu-zi (14) a-na <sup>m</sup>l̄-a-nu utār<sup>5</sup>-ra  
 (15) eq̄la-šu i-liq-qì (16) ka-aš-ka ša eq̄li a-šar <sup>m</sup>l̄-a-nu la i-li-qì  
 (17) 4 awēlū<sup>pl</sup> an-nu-ú (19) eq̄la mu-še-el-wu ù (20) šu-nu<sup>6</sup>-ma  
 kaspa iddinu<sup>nu</sup>

(21) aban <sup>m</sup>Ḥa-na-a-a <sup>m</sup>Ḥa-ni-ir-ra (22) aban <sup>m</sup>Ta-e mār Ar-ti-ir-wi (23) aban <sup>m</sup>Ta-[- -]-ia mār E-te-ia (24) aban <sup>m</sup>Ṭ-na-a-a mār A-ri-ḥa-ma-na

<sup>1</sup> GIG. <sup>2</sup> SU. <sup>3</sup> APIN. <sup>4</sup> Not an omission cf. 7. 11. <sup>5</sup> GUR, written defectively. <sup>6</sup> Written over an erasure.

. . . . . of barley, twenty qa of wheat, (and) one ax (weighing) five shekels, belonging to Ilanu, son of Tayuki, these Hanaya, son of Artirwi, has received. And three aweharu of land (5) in the district of Shantalluk, south of the land of Shukriya, (and) north of the land of Irigiga, (for) three years into possession (10) to Ilanu have been given. When three years have been fulfilled, (and) the capital as stated in the tablet of Hanaya in <sup>c</sup>Nuzi to Ilanu he has returned (15) his land he shall take back. The moiety of the land from Ilanu he shall not take. These four men have surveyed the land (20) and they too have paid out the money.

Five seals.

This tablet shows the same scribal mannerisms as 7.

## 21 (14)

(Case)

ṭup-pu ša 𒀭i-iš-mi-til-la ša eqlī qa-áš-ki  
<sup>abankunuk</sup> SAG.KI ṭupšarri

(Tablet)

(1) um-ma 𒀭i-iš-mi-til-la-ma mār Zi-ku-um-mi (2) ša 𒀭Lu-ub-di 1 imēr eqla (3) ša 𒀭A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til mār Zi-gi (4) a-na qa-áš-ki ú-ka<sub>4</sub>-al-mi (5) ù i-na-an-na a-na-ku eqla ša-a-šu (6) <a-na<sup>1</sup>> 𒀭A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til-ma um-te-eš-ši-ir-mi (7) ki-ma eqlī qa-áš-ki ša-a-šu (8) 1 imēr šēa<sup>1</sup> 3 manē šīpāti<sup>1</sup> (9) bá-qi-ma-tù an-nu-tu kaspu<sup>1</sup> (10) ki-ma qa-áš-ki-ia a-šar (11) 𒀭A-ka<sub>4</sub>-wa-til el-te-qī-mi ù ap-la-ku-mi ù eqlu an-nu-ú (13) ina lib-bi eqlā-ti ša El-ḫi-ip-til-la mār 𒀭Hu-i-til-la (14) na-ki-is ma-an-nu-um-me-e (15) i-na bēri<sup>2</sup>-šu-nu (16) ibalkatu<sup>10</sup> 1 alpa umallā<sup>1</sup> (17) ṭup-pu an-nu-ú ina arki<sup>ki</sup> (18) šu-du-ti ina 𒀭Nu-zi (19) sa-ṭi-ir

(20) maḥar 𒀭Ha-ši-ip-til-la mār Ur-ḫi-ia (21) maḥar 𒀭Ii-ma-aḫi<sup>bi</sup> mār I-la-an-nu (22) maḥar I-la-an-nu mār Ta-i-ú-ki (23) qāt<sup>3</sup> SAG.KI ṭupšarru

Seals of the above witnesses.

<sup>1</sup> Omission is more likely here than the substitution of the male determinative for *ana*. <sup>2</sup> *RI.BA.NA*. <sup>3</sup> After *ŠU* the scribe wrote *NIGIN* by mistake.

(Case)

Tablet of Hishmitilla, concerning a *kaška* land.

Seal of Sakki, the scribe.

(Tablet)

Thus (says) Hishmitilla, son of Zikummi, of 𒀭Lubdi: One imer of land, which Akawatil, son of Zigi, has been holding for (removal of the) moiety, (5) now that land to Akawatil I have surrendered. In exchange for the *kaška* land one imer of barley (and) three minas of *plucked* wool, this capital (10) in exchange for my moiety from Akawatil I have received and I have (thus) been paid in full. And that land out of the lands of Elhīptilla, son of Huitilla, is to be cut off. Whosoever (15) among them breaks the contract shall is to furnish one ox.

This tablet was written in 𒀭Nuzi after the proclamation.

Three witnesses and signature of scribe. Four seals.

In this document the rights to the *kaška* alone are involved. They had been rented from H, who now sells them outright and declares himself paid in full (*aplākumī*). The connection between H. and E. (line 13) is open to conjecture.

## THE CH'AN MASTER PU-TAI

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AS NOT ONLY interesting in itself, but also important as an explanation of the transformation of the tall, well-formed Maitreya of Indian, of Japanese, and of *early* Chinese Buddhist art, into the Laughing Buddha<sup>1</sup> who, with his protruding stomach and jolly smile has greeted the visitor to almost every Buddhist temple in China from Ming times up to the present day, I offer the following translation from the *Ching-tê chuan têng lu*, a collection of biographies of monks of the *Dhyāna*, or Meditation (in Chinese, 禪 *Ch'an*; in Japanese, *Zen*) sect of Buddhism. I have appended a translation of a passage from the *Chê-chiang t'ung chih*, the official history of Chekiang province, which gives a part account of the history of the temple with which Monk Pu-tai was associated, and explains another name of his, Ch'ang-t'ing-tzū. The identity of the two figures has long been recognized, but I believe that this is the first time an account has been published in a European language which shows how and why the "Laughing Buddha" derives from the fat monk Pu-tai. It will be seen that in the death-poem which he made for himself, shortly before he entered Nirvāṇa in A. D. 916

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<sup>1</sup> So called by foreigners; to the Chinese, he is known as 彌勒佛 *Mi-lo Fo*, i. e., Maitreya, or is sometimes familiarly called 大肚子 *Ta Tu-tzū*, "Big Stomach." They have completely forgotten Monk Pu-tai, whose image this figure really is. The images of Maitreya of the early type are now known to the Chinese as 如來佛 *Ju-lai Fo*, *Ju-lai* being a translation of the Sanskrit word *Tathāgata*, a term applied to every Buddha, probably meaning "He who has thus come" or "He who has thus attained" and certainly understood in this sense by the translators, and *Fo* being the Chinese term for *Buddha*. So far as I know in the *sūtras*, *Ju-lai* is always used in this sense and is not given its possible meaning of "future." Later, however, ignorant monks understood it in this sense and the earlier type of image of Maitreya came to be called *Ju-lai Fo*. The great majority of Chinese today, if they have heard the name at all, regard it as the name of a particular Buddha. A case in point is the Yung Ho Kung in Peking, called by foreigners "The Lama Temple"; here the guide points out the fat figure in the first building entered as *Mi-lo Fo*, whereas in the hall at the back, he refers to the seventy-foot image of Maitreya as *Ju-lai Fo*, without connecting the two in any way.

or 917, Pu-tai claimed to be an incarnation of Maitreya, the Compassionate Buddha of the Future.

The Japanese, who are famous for their preservation of Chinese customs, style of dress, etc., long after they have been forgotten in the land of their origin, have never ceased to call by the name of Hotei the jolly monk with his fat stomach, lounging pose, broad smile, huge bag and rosary, who is a favorite subject with Japanese artists. Hotei, I may add, is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters 布袋 Pu-tai. With all his unmistakable characteristics, he appears in Japanese paintings, in Japanese prints, and especially in the carved wood and ivory *netsuke*, toggles or buttons, with which the Japanese of the Tokugawa period (1603-1867) fastened their medicine and tobacco pouches to their girdles. He takes his place as one of the Seven Gods of Good Luck, often represented and often parodied in the art of the Ukiyoe School. Japanese, coming to China, and seeing the well-known figure greeting them face to face as they entered the temples, have had no doubt as to its identity. To them, it is Hotei, however much the Chinese, who have completely forgotten Pu-tai,<sup>2</sup> proclaim it to be Mi-lo Fo. Thus, Westerners who have studied Chinese art through the Japanese, or who have come to know the Japanese identification of this figure, have taken it for granted<sup>3</sup> that the jolly, fat monk they see in Chinese paintings, porcelain, and bronzes is Pu-tai or Hotei. Other Westerners, however, some of whom have lived all their lives in China, know the same figure only as "The Laughing Buddha" or as Mi-lo Fo.

When last year in Peking, I came across this biography, I was interested not only by the high quality of Pu-tai's poems, but also by the connection of the account with the transformation of Maitreya into the "Laughing Buddha"; especially enlightening is the statement, "the monks vied with one another in painting his likeness." I hope that I may some time come across other references in Chinese literature to Monk Cloth-Bag. He seems to have had an engaging personality, as well as an understanding of esoteric Buddhism not less than of ordinary human nature.

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<sup>2</sup> Except those modern students of Buddhism who have re-learned this fact from Japanese sources.

<sup>3</sup> E. g. Couling, *Encyclopaedia Sinica* (1917), under Maitreya; Joly, *Legend in Japanese Art* (1908), p. 130; Hobson, *Chinese Pottery and Porcelain* (1915), vol. II, p. 285; and others. None of these authors or any other known to me, gives the source of his information.

Biography of Monk Pu-tai.<sup>4</sup>

In 奉化縣 Fêng-hua Hsien in 明州 Ming-chou, there lived 布袋和尚 Pu-tai Ho-shang.<sup>5</sup> His family name is not known; he called himself 契此 Ch'i-tzū.<sup>6</sup> He was so fat that he looked like a bag. His forehead was narrow (or possibly, he had a habit of wrinkling his brows) and his stomach big. His speech was very unexpected. He used to lie down and sleep wherever he happened to be. He always carried on a staff slung over his shoulders a bag in which he kept all his necessities. When he came to a market-place or a town, he begged for whatever he saw. Whether it was 醃醃 *hsi-hai*<sup>7</sup> or 魚菹 *yü-chü*,<sup>8</sup> as soon as he got hold of it, he put it in his mouth. He would sometimes break off a bit and stick it in his bag. His contemporaries called him 長汀子 Ch'ang-t'ing-tzū<sup>9</sup> and 布袋師 Pu-tai Shih. He often slept in the snow, and the snow did not hurt his body. Because of this, he was regarded as unusual. Again, the things which he had begged from others, he sometimes sold. He was never mistaken in telling people's fortunes, even to the length of time involved. Before rain, he put on grass sandals, softened by water, and walked along quickly on the street. In clear weather, he wore high wooden clogs.<sup>10</sup> On the city bridge, he sat down with his knees raised and, in this position, went to sleep. The people in his neighborhood knew for a certainty by following his movements (what the weather would be).

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<sup>4</sup> From the 景德傳燈錄 *Ching-tê chuan têng lu*, compiled by the monk 道原 Tao Yuan in the Sung dynasty. I have used the edition published in 1920 by the 常州天寧寺刻經處 Changchou T'ien-ning Ssü k'o ching ch'u, a publishing house connected with the T'ien-ning Temple in Changchou. The passage will be found in the 27th section (第二十七卷), p. 17 b ff.

<sup>5</sup> I. e., Priest Cloth-bag.

<sup>6</sup> These two characters, like some other phrases in the Chinese language, may mean one thing or they may mean its opposite: "dependent on this,"—that is, the world of men—or they may mean, "independent of this." And this double meaning, we may be sure, was in the mind of this extraordinary priest when he chose them for his *hao*.

<sup>7</sup> Minced meat, pickled and seasoned.

<sup>8</sup> Pickled fish and vegetables. Of course, according to the rules of the Buddhist monastery, he was forbidden to eat meat or fish.

<sup>9</sup> From the place where he lived.

<sup>10</sup> Like the Japanese *geta*, especially made for use in rainy weather.



Once there was a priest who walked in front of the Master. The latter touched him on the shoulder, whereupon he turned his head. The Master said "Give me a cash."<sup>11</sup> The priest said, "If you first tell me a word of Truth, I will give you a cash." The Master put his bag on the ground and folded his hands.

(Another time,) when 白鹿和尚 *Pai-lu Ho-shang*, White Deer Monk, asked him why he was called *Pu-tai*, he again simply set down his bag.<sup>12</sup> And when he questioned him further, as to what affairs he was engaged in less important than his bag,<sup>13</sup> the Master picked up his bag and went away. Formerly also, when 保福和尚 *Pao-fu Ho-shang*<sup>14</sup> asked him what was the main idea of the Buddhist doctrine, he put down his bag and folded his hands. *Pao-fu* said, "If that is all, have you no more important affairs?"<sup>15</sup> The Master picked up his bag and went away.

(One day,) the Master was standing in the street, when a priest asked him, "What are you doing here?" The Master said, "I am waiting for someone." The priest said, "He has come."<sup>16</sup> The Master said, "You are not the man." The priest asked, "What distinguishes this man?" The Master said, "He will give me a cash."

The Master had a song (which he had written) as follows:

Only the three minds (past, present and future) are the Buddha. In the ten directions (N., S., E., W., N.E., S.E., N.W., S.W., and zenith and nadir) of the world. (the mind) is the most intelligent, the most spiritual thing.

In all things. it has a wonderful use. It is a pity that beings (do not understand). There is nothing so real as the mind.

<sup>11</sup> The smallest Chinese coin, a small fraction of a cent. I remember having seen once, in a book on symbols, that a coin symbolizes "a fact of life." This phrase, "give me a cash," is still one of the subjects for meditation given to young monks of the Zen sect of Buddhism in Japan. This sect, of course, corresponds to the Chinese Ch'an sect to which *Pu-tai Ho-shang* belonged. I have not been able to get an explanation of this phrase by a Zen monk.

<sup>12</sup> It will be remembered that the name 布袋 *Pu-tai* means "cloth-hag."

<sup>13</sup> 布袋下事 *Pu-tai hsia shih*.

<sup>14</sup> I. e., Guardian of Good Fortune Monk.

<sup>15</sup> 更有向上事 *K'eng yu hsiang shang shih*.

<sup>16</sup> The following note occurs in the text: 歸宗柔和尙 Priest *Kuei-tsung-yü* says instead, "He has returned." This reference is obviously to some other version of the story.

In continual movement, it is self-existent, and there is nothing which it is not. To those who have left their homes, with no business to pursue, it is an endless source of study.

If one has before one's eyes, the True Great Way, one sees not even a hair (because all is empty<sup>17</sup>)—strange!

The manifold methods of the Law, how do they differ? Mind is everywhere the same. (When one understands this) what necessity is there to exert one's self to search the *sūtra's*<sup>18</sup> meaning?

When the king of the mind (i. e., the Self) naturally cuts off (attachment), then all is harmony. The wise who understand this, need not to study.

There are in reality no common herd and no sages; what then is there? It is not necessary to distinguish from others the sage who has no need outside himself.

Without price is the pearl of the mind; by its own nature, round and pure. Ordinary people are different; have they not misunderstood the emptiness of things?

Men can indefinitely enlarge the principles they follow,<sup>19</sup> and thus comprehend the ever-extending nature of the Way. To become ever more pure and noble, this is to be in harmony with the nature of the Way.

One takes one's staff and climbs the old road to the place of one's origin, without the slightest rancor against those who do not listen to the Scound.

The Master also wrote the following poem:

From one bowl, I eat the rice of a thousand families;  
All alone, I wander ten thousand *li*.  
Those who find favor in my eyes are few.  
Among the white clouds, I search for Truth.

In the third month of the third year of 貞明 *chên-ming*, (A. D. 917) the cyclical year 丙子 *ping-tzŭ* (the third year of this reign, however, bears the cyclical characters 丁丑 *ting ch'ou*: it is the second year—916—which bears the cyclical characters, 丙子 *ping-tzŭ*), the Master proclaimed his approaching *parinirvāṇa*. At the 嶽林寺 Yüeh-lin Temple, he took up his seat, cross-legged, on a flat stone below the eastern veranda, and spoke the following verse:

"Maitreya, the veritable Maitreya, divides his body into ten thousand million parts. From time to time, (appearing among men) he proclaims (the Truth) to the men of that era, but they naturally do not recognize him."

<sup>17</sup> In Sanskrit, *śūnya*; in Chinese, 空 *k'ung*; i. e., the Void.

<sup>18</sup> *Sūtra*, in Chinese, 經 *ching*. one of the three sections of the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka*, or canon. It comprises hundreds of works.

<sup>19</sup> This seems to express the same idea as "The Chambered Nautilus," and appears to be a quotation of the *Analects*, XV, 28.

When he had finished reciting this verse, he quietly passed away. Afterwards, there were men in his neighborhood who saw the Master, carrying his bag as before and walking. Because of this, the monks vied with one another in painting his likeness. Now in the Yüeh-lin Temple, in the eastern part of the Great Hall, is preserved his body (embalmed), and people in many places speak of his re-appearance as a proven fact.

Now follows a passage from the 浙江通志 *Chê-chiang t'ung chih* section 230 (第二百三十卷), pp. 17, a, b.

Three *li*<sup>20</sup> northeast of the *hsien* city (probably Ningpo), according to the 嘉靖 Chia Ching version of the 浙江通志 *Chê-chiang t'ung chih*, and according to the 延祐四明志 *Yen-hu ssü-ming chih*, in the 大同 Ta T'ung period of the 梁 Liang dynasty (A. D. 535-545), the Ch'an monk 聰 Ts'ung built a small monastery back of the 長汀 Ch'ang T'ing or Long Bank on a piece of land donated for the purpose by the 童 T'ung family. According to the 成化四明郡志 *Ch'êng-hua ssu-ming chün chih*, Monk 布袋 Pu-tai lived here at times for the practice of his religion. According to the 奉化縣志 *Fêng-hua hsien chih*, the building was first put up west of a mountain stream and was called 崇禪院 Ts'ung Ch'an Yüan. In the 會昌 Hui-ch'ang period of T'ang (841-6), it was burnt down and in the third year of 大中 Ta-chung (849), the monks vacated the place and moved east of the stream.

In the 8th year of the 大中祥符 Ta-chung-hsiang-fu period of Sung (1015), the 岳林寺 Yüeh-lin Ssü was built by Imperial grant. The monk 文岳 Wên-yüeh erected the 崇寧閣 Tsung-ning Ko which was afterwards burnt. Again in the 癸卯 *kuei-mao* year of 永樂 Yung-lo in the Ming dynasty (1423), it was destroyed by fire and was rebuilt during the 宣德 Hsüan-tê and 正統 Chêng-t'ung periods (1426-1449). It was burned again during the 萬歷 Wan-li period (1573-1619). The Great Hall was rebuilt immediately and during the 崇禎 Tsung-chên period (1628-1644), the 崇寧閣 Tsung-ning Ko was rebuilt. In the 康熙 K'ang-hsi period of Ch'ing (1662-1722), the 天王殿 T'ien-wang Tien was erected, together with dormitories for the monks, two covered passages and the 普同塔 P'u-t'ung Pagoda, all on an imposing scale.

<sup>20</sup> A Chinese *li* is generally regarded as about one third of an English mile.

# CHINESE MYTHOLOGY AND DR. FERGUSON

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BEFORE CRITICIZING adversely a scholar's work, two things should be ascertained with reasonable certainty: first, is the work to be criticized of sufficient importance to justify attention; and second, are the errors of the book so misleading as to call for correction.

A series of thirteen volumes, entitled *The Mythology of All Races*, has been issued by the Archaeological Institute of America, under the editorship of Canon J. A. MacCulloch and the late Professor G. F. Moore. Volume VIII, published in 1928, contains *Chinese*, by John C. Ferguson, and *Japanese*, by Masaharu Anesaki. It is with the work of Dr. Ferguson that this article is primarily concerned.

It is evident from the learned society which has issued these volumes, from the reputation of the editors, and from the names of the well known specialists who have written the other volumes, that this series is intended to be authoritative. Both Ferguson and Anesaki are well known scholars. The former has long been considered an authority on Chinese art, and it is generally understood that he is widely read in Chinese literature and has been closely connected with Chinese official and scholarly circles. Under such circumstances, if his work should be shown to contain careless generalizations, faulty classification, and misstatements of fact, it is a very serious matter. Scholars in other fields should have confidence that in relying upon statements made in such a work they are upon firm ground, and sinologists should be able to feel that this ground need not be gone over again.

It may be said at once that from a scholarly standpoint, the work of Ferguson is inferior to that of Anesaki. For example, the latter has provided notes in which he explains etymologies, elaborates difficult points, and gives exact references to his sources. On the other hand, Ferguson refers to an impressive array of Chinese works, but by omitting exact references, makes it practically impossible for a western scholar to check him with any thoroughness.

This is especially clear in his concluding chapter on "Criticism,"

in which he considers only two men, Wang T'ung and Han Yü. His choice of Wang T'ung and Han Yü is regrettable. Wang T'ung has sometimes been regarded as a myth himself, but there are two existing books attributed to him, the *Wên chung tzü chung shuo* and the *Yüan ching*. There is nothing in them which can be interpreted as a criticism of Chinese myths, although there is some criticism of older literature on other grounds, and both books have been considered forgeries. Han Yü is mentioned as a critic because of his essays on the bone of the Buddha and to the crocodile. The former has nothing to do with the questions of mythology, simply reflecting the opposition of orthodox Confucians to Buddhism, while the latter is probably a sincere appeal to the crocodile. Such matter is not myth in the sense in which ethnologists use the word.

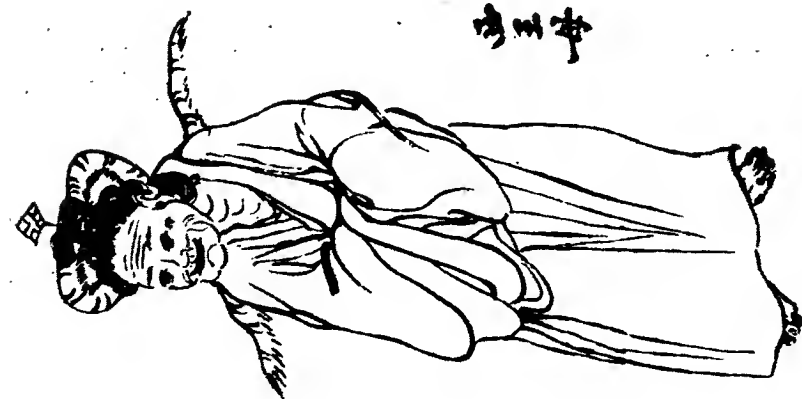
Dr. Ferguson is also uncritical in his use and selection of sources. Many of the works he cites are simply books of fiction, and no one would consider *Frankenstein* and *Dracula* to be myths of the English people. He devotes a chapter to "Theatrical Tales"; but while the Chinese drama does sometimes deal with mythology, the myths are so changed for theatrical purposes as to make the drama of little use in a serious study of mythology.

He does not account for the historical development of his myths. This point may be illustrated by a figure whom Dr. Ferguson treats in some detail (pp. 116-118), Hsi Wang Mu, but as if the conception of the goddess were entirely static. Now in the oldest sections of the *Shan hai ching*, the "Hsi shan ching" and the "Hai nei pei ching," Hsi Wang Mu has a human body with a leopard's tail and tiger's teeth, is fond of whistling, has dishevelled hair, wears jade ornaments, and eats three black-birds. The deity presides over plague, and the sex is not indicated. In the "Ta Huang hsi ching," the divinity lives in a cave, and is dreadful in appearance. In a later work, the *Mu t'ien tzü chuan*, the goddess has dropped her animal attributes and is an educated Chinese queen.<sup>1</sup> In *Huai-nan tzü*, written about 100 B. C., she no longer presides over pestilence, but has become the goddess possessing the elixir of immortality.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in the *Han Wu Ti nei chuan*,<sup>3</sup> the god-

<sup>1</sup> *Mu t'ien tzü chuan*, bk. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Huai nan hung lieh chi chieh* (淮南鴻烈集解), Shanghai, C. P., 1922, Bk. 6, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> A forgery attributed to Pan Ku, but the date of its compilation cannot be later than the third and fourth centuries.



HSI WANG MU AS DESCRIBED IN THE  
SHAN HAI CHING.

西王母



HSI WANG MU AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE  
HSIEN FU CH'U TSUNG.

西王母



dess reaches her full state, living in heavenly palaces with courtiers in an establishment modelled on the court of the Han emperors. Dr. Ferguson gives no account whatever of this development, which would be essential in a critical study.

In the "Introduction," Dr. Ferguson over simplifies Chinese culture. That he divides it into Confucian and Taoist spheres is not so bad, even though to do so ignores other important influences. But he goes further and identifies Confucianism with conservatism characterized by ceremonialism, and Taoism with liberalism typified by divination. Such an association is incorrect, because both ceremonialism and divination are characteristic of Confucianism and neither of them is characteristic of Taoism. He says that the Liberal School adhered "to the Eight Diagrams reputed to have been evolved by Fu Hsi from the marks found on the back of a dragon horse," and found its ancient authorization in the *Book of Changes* (p. 8). But the story of the Eight Diagrams of Fu Hsi is the Confucian myth of the invention of writing. Lao Tzŭ does not mention the *Book of Changes*, but it was spoken of in the highest terms by Confucius.<sup>4</sup> It is, indeed, one of the most important canons of Confucianism.<sup>5</sup>

By saying that the Liberal School "provides for changes amidst changing circumstances" (p. 8), Dr. Ferguson misinterprets the positions of I Yin, T'ai Kung, Yü Hsiung and Kuan Chung.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> "Given a few more years of life to finish my study of the *Book of Changes*, I may be free from great errors." *Analecets*, VII, 16. This passage is sometimes questioned, but it is the generally accepted version.

<sup>5</sup> It was the priests of the Taoist religion (which is of much later origin), who utilized the *na-chia* method of the commentators of the Later Han dynasty on the *Book of Changes* in the practice of alchemy and the manufacture of the elixir of life, which has nothing to do with Taoism as a school of philosophy.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Ferguson alludes (p. 9) to I Yin advising T'ang to plot against Hsia, T'ai Kung and Yü Hsiung advising Wên Wang and Wu Wang against Shang, and Kuan Chung "the first to make a feudal state assume hegemony among other states" as "authoritative examples of the early Tao." But I Yin was one of the most important heroes of Confucianism and is ranked as high as Chou Kung. Ch'êng T'ang, Wên Wang and Wu Wang, whom I Yin, T'ai Kung and Yü Hsiung advised, were the model emperors of Confucianism, and their revolutions against the existing regimes were highly commended and justified by the most orthodox Confucianists. These legendary figures do not prove the liberalism of Taoism, nor do they prove the conservatism of Confucianism. Kuan Chung's



(p. 9), and by confusing the adepts and legalists with the Taoist philosophers,<sup>7</sup> he calls Ch'in Shih Huang "the greatest supporter of Liberalism . . ." (p. 9).

The "Introduction" closes with an account of the story of K'ung An-kuo and his labors on the text of the *Analects* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*.

"During the Han dynasty, about 150 B. C., the sayings of Confucius were compiled by one of his descendants, K'ung An-kuo. This compilation, called *Lun yü hsün tz'ü*, was based upon the comparison of two texts. One of these was found with other texts, *pi chung shu*, in a wall of the home of Confucius when it was being demolished by Kung Wang, son of the Emperor Ching Ti, who was appointed by his father to be King of the Principality of Lu (modern Shangtung). This text was written in the so-called "tadpole" characters, *k'o-tou-wên*, and is known as the "ancient text," *ku wên*. The other text came from the neighbouring principality of Ch'i and, being written in the characters which were used in the last years of the Chow dynasty, is known as the "modern text," *ch'in wên*. The compilation of K'ung An-kuo, with some emendations, has remained the standard of the Conservative School for all succeeding generations, and as it includes the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, or "Spring and Autumn Annals," it carries back the account of China's ancient civilization to a great antiquity." (Pp. 10-11.)

What evidence is there that K'ung An-kuo made a compilation of two texts of the *Analects* and included in it the *Annals*, which he called the *Lun yü hsün tz'ü*?<sup>8</sup> In what bibliography is this work to be found?<sup>9</sup> It is said in a work by Ho Yen<sup>10</sup> and in *Sui-shu ching-chi-chih* that K'ung An-kuo wrote a commentary on the *Ku lun yü*, but they say nothing of the comparison with the Ch'i text and its inclusion in the *Ch'un ch'iu*. Even these references are considered doubtful. If this is meant to be the compilation of K'ung An-kuo, it did not remain the "standard of the Conservative School

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writings (those attributed to him) are decidedly legal in nature and they have been classed under the School of Law since the *Han shu i wen chih* (Bibliographical section of the History of the Former Han dynasty).

<sup>7</sup> The adepts, or magicians, should be sharply distinguished from the Taoist philosophers.

<sup>8</sup> No such work is known.

<sup>9</sup> The *Han shu i wen chih* is the earliest of the Chinese bibliographies existent and is used as a comprehensive checklist of ancient Chinese literature. It says nothing of the compilation of K'ung An-kuo.

<sup>10</sup> In the preface of the *Lun yü chi chieh*, a work compiled under the editorship of Ho Yen.

for all succeeding generations," because it was said to have been lost by Ho Yen himself. No attempt to combine these two books was ever made, and they cannot carry back the "account of China's ancient civilization to a great antiquity," because the *Lun yü* consists of the sayings of Confucius collected together by his disciples and the *Ch'un ch'iu* is a history of the period 722-481 B. C. in outline form.

In the chapter on "Taoism" Dr. Ferguson continually confuses Taoism as a philosophy with Taoism as a religion. The latter was founded by Chang Tao-ling and its philosophical foundation was laid by Ko Hung more than a century later. Ko Hung was Confucian in ethics though Taoist in metaphysics, and opposed the naturalism of Lao Tzū. Lao Tzū was a monistic philosopher with no belief in a personal God, and it is one of the ironies of history that centuries later he was deified, and regarded as the founder of a religion. As an example of the inaccuracy of this chapter it may be noticed that T'ang T'ai Tsung is said first to have claimed descent from Lao Tzū (p. 14), and to have given the sage the title of Hsüan Yüan Huang Ti (p. 22). The first of these acts was performed by T'ang Kao Tsu,<sup>11</sup> and the second by T'ang Kao Tsung,<sup>12</sup> neither being the act of T'ai Tsung.

At the end of this chapter (p. 24), Dr. Ferguson says, "The relation of Taoism to the mythological characters of China . . . is complete. If we were to depend upon the views of the School of Letters (Confucian) we should have scant material." In chapter III, the chief characters considered are Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wên and Wu, but far from being connected with Taoism, these

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<sup>11</sup> According to *Fêng shih Wên-chien chi* (Book I, first section, Taoist religion), in the third year of Wu Tê (620 A. D.) of the Emperor Kao Tsu, Chi Shan-hsing of Chin-chou saw an old man clad in white on the Yang-chio mountains, who called to him and said: "Tell the Emperor of T'ang, that I am Lao Chün and that I am your ancestor. There will be no bandits this year and there will be peace." Kao Tsu immediately sent an envoy who offered a sacrifice to Lao-tzū and built a temple to him on the site of the revelation, and changed the name of the district Fu-shan to Shên-shan, "mountain of god." Kao-tsu (618-626 A. D.) was T'ai Tsung's father. T'ai Tsung ruled from 627-649 A. D.

<sup>12</sup> The canonization of Lao-tzū as Hsüan Yüan Huang Ti, according to both the Old and New T'ang Histories, was in the first year of Ch'ien Fêng (666 A. D.) of the Emperor Kao Tsung. This was sixteen years after the death of T'ai Tsung.

men are the heroes of the Confucian canon. Indeed, throughout the whole book Dr. Ferguson quotes more from Confucian than from Taoist works.

As a matter of fact, it would be a mistake to attempt an account of Chinese mythology solely from either Confucian or Taoist sources. In the Confucian canon there are probably many myths, but most of them have been so rationalized that they can be discovered only with the aid of other sources. As for the religious books of Taoism, they are all late, and nearly all their gods are of relatively recent date. Where the Taoist gods are connected with myths, they must be examined very carefully in order to discover the original form. Late Taoist literature is full of legendary inventions, but is not of great value in the study of ancient Chinese folklore and mythology. It would seem as if Dr. Ferguson has made the same mistake as Werner,<sup>13</sup> and considered such works as the *Shên hsien t'ung chien*<sup>14</sup> as mythology, whereas they are mainly deliberate inventions.

In the chapter on "Cosmogony," Dr. Ferguson gives an account of the metaphysical speculations of the Taoist philosophers, which are not myths at all. After referring to the story of P'an Ku as an importation from Siam,<sup>15</sup> he devotes some space to Yü Huang, the "Pearly Emperor." Here (p. 59), Dr. Ferguson says, "This is the first appearance of Yü Huang" (and adds that absolutely nothing is known of his origin or life), referring to a story in the *T'ung chien kang mu* of a dream of Sung Chên Tsung, and gives an account of his life from the *Sou shên chi*.<sup>16</sup> Dr. Ferguson

<sup>13</sup> E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, 1922.

<sup>14</sup> A book of biographies chiefly of the Taoist gods, saints and sages, and in which is included a short life of Christ which was translated into English by E. T. C. Werner in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch*, Vol. LII, pp. 186-191.

<sup>15</sup> Perhaps a cosmogonic myth of the south that migrated northward. Where it originated is still undetermined. Dr. Ferguson referred to the book *Shu i chi* of the Sixth century A. D., but the myth was recorded in a much earlier work, the *San wu li chi* by Hsü Chêng, of the third century A. D. It does not say definitely that the myth originated in Siam.

<sup>16</sup> Whenever only the title *Sou shên chi* is referred to, it is always understood by scholars to be the well known work attributed to Kan Pao of the fourth century A. D. But the life of Yü Huang given by Dr. Ferguson is not to be found there. There is another secondary and obscure work of the same title but of much later compilation (compiled about the end

has apparently followed Werner<sup>17</sup> and made the same mistake. The name Yü Huang was much earlier than the time of the Emperor Chên Tsung, appearing in the writings of Han Yü (768-824 A. D.) whom Dr. Ferguson has chosen as one of the critics of Chinese myths, in Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819 A. D.) and in Yüan Chen (779-831 A. D.). All these men lived about two centuries before the time of Chên Tsung. It is apparent that the myth of Yü Huang was originated at least two or three centuries before Chên Tsung's time and reached its fullest development in the tenth century, for a vivid celestial court scene of Yü Huang was painted by the famous artist Shih K'uo of the Later Shu Kingdom (908-965 A. D.), as recorded in the work of Li Chien, *Tê yü chai hua p'in*.<sup>18</sup> Most astonishing of all, Dr. Ferguson says (p. 55), "Liu Hsiang was the author of the *History of the Han Dynasty* and the founder of the modern style of historical composition." If Dr. Ferguson can produce a history of the Han written by Liu Hsiang, he has made a momentous discovery, but it is more likely that he wrote Liu Hsiang while intending to write Pan Ku. Liu Hsiang was a co-author of a bibliography which was one of the sources of the *Ch'ien han shu*.

The chapter on "Spirits of Nature" ought to be the heart of the book. Yet after mentioning some ceremonials, all taken from Confucian sources, Dr. Ferguson soon passes to the consideration of such deities as the Earth-Gods, the City-Gods, the "T'ien Hou,"

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of the sixteenth century A. D.) included in the *Tao tsang* (道藏). An account of the life of Yü Huang was given in the first book (pp. 9-10) of this work. But the matter is made more confusing in the case of Chiang Tzū-wên (p. 65) where Dr. Ferguson also simply referred to the *Sou shên chi*, because this story appears in both of these works. From the nature of the story given by Dr. Ferguson, it was apparently adapted from Kan Pao's work, although Dr. Ferguson's account does not follow either book accurately. But in the case of Yü Huang, it would be entirely wrong to assume the title to be Kan Pao's work because it was compiled at least four centuries before the time of the Sung emperor Chên Tsung, and it would be useless to refer to the work in the *Tao Tsang* because it is not original and merely an adaptation from different sources. As a matter of fact, the life of Yü Huang appeared in a much earlier work, the *Kao shang yü huang pên hsing chi ching*, than the *Sou shên chi* of the *Tao tsang*.

<sup>17</sup> E. T. C. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, pp. 130-131.

<sup>18</sup> 宋李應撰德隅齋畫品, 顧氏文房小說本, pp. 7-8.

and other tutelary gods. Unfortunately these gods have little to do with nature myths.

Yet the Chinese possess a rich store of myths concerning the sun, moon, stars, clouds, mountains, rivers, and other natural objects, and one of these, ignored by Dr. Ferguson, may be taken briefly as an example. Hsi Ho was an ancient Chinese sun god, or charioteer of the sun. The earliest appearance of the name is in the "Canon of Yao" of the *History*, where the myth has been rationalized and Hsi Ho, whether a personal name or a title, is a sort of court astrologer. But in the *Shan hai ching* is a different account.

"Between the Southeastern Sea and the 'Sweet Water' is a land called Hsi Ho. There was a woman named Hsi Ho who bathed the sun in Kan Yen. She was the wife of Ti Chün<sup>19</sup> and gave birth to ten suns." A commentator on this passage<sup>20</sup> considered that Hsi Ho was the one who took charge of the sun and moon at the beginning of the world. In Chuang Tzū<sup>21</sup> it is said that on one occasion ten suns appeared at once, which caused a general conflagration. This incident is still further developed in Huai-nan Tzu,<sup>22</sup> who places it in the time of Yao. Each sun contained a crow.<sup>23</sup> Yao ordered I to shoot the suns. I shot nine, and the crows in them fell dead,<sup>24</sup> leaving the one sun which we still possess. This story explains the association of the crow with the sun. It would be interesting to speculate whether this story has any connection with the widely diffused myth of the thunder-bird.

In the *Li sao* there is a hint that Hsi Ho is the charioteer of the sun,<sup>25</sup> and Huai-nan Tzu says that the sun rides in a chariot drawn by six dragons driven by Hsi Ho. There is an account of the daily journey past different places which correspond to the daylight hours of the Chinese day.<sup>26</sup> Some of these names became

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<sup>19</sup> Literally Emperor Chün. He is an important figure in ancient Chinese mythology, and may be compared with Zeus as the head of the Chinese mythical hierarchy. Dr. Ferguson ignores him entirely.

<sup>20</sup> Kuo P'ò; *Shan hai ching*, bk. 15, "Ta huang nan ching."

<sup>21</sup> Chuang tzū: 昔者十日並出, 草木焦枯.

<sup>22</sup> *Huai nan hung lieh chi chieh*, bk. 8, "Pên ching hsün," pp. 7-8.

<sup>23</sup> The *Shan hai ching* says: "There is a crow in the sun."

<sup>24</sup> See *Ch'u tz'ü*, "Tien wên."

<sup>25</sup> *Li Sao*, tr. by Lim Boon-keng, p. 81, XLVIII.

<sup>26</sup> *Huai-nan hung lieh chi chieh*, bk. 3, "T'ien wên hsün," pp. 18-19.

the nuclei for later legends. The *Shan hai ching* contains legends about worthies who regulated the course of the sun,<sup>27</sup> and Huai-nan Tzū ascribes eclipses to the combats of unicorns.<sup>28</sup> The legend of the heavenly dog eating the sun and moon during eclipses is of late origin, and the custom of beating gongs to save them is said to have been introduced from India.

This brief account of the development of a sun myth illustrates the way in which Chinese myths should be treated, as well as the difficulties inherent in the material, for it will be seen that references must be collected from many sources.<sup>29</sup> It should be noticed that the *History* is supposed to be much older than the other sources quoted,<sup>30</sup> and therefore the original form of the myth can hardly be determined. Tradition is very persistent, and the later, cruder versions may really be earlier in their origin. But on the other hand, where such stories first appear in the late Chou and Han literature, it is often impossible to tell whether they were a part of the old Chinese culture, or represent external influence. The fact that a legend is crude is not necessarily a sign that it is old.

In the instance of this sun myth, we can be fairly sure that we are dealing with a myth of Northern China, where the characteristically Chinese culture arose, because in the *Li sao* of Ch'ü Yüan there is found a different sun myth which represents southern tradition.<sup>31</sup> In this legend the god of the sun is Tung Chün. The passage runs as follows: "The morning sun, rising from the east, shone through Fu-sang. The sparkling night dawned gradually as he drove along in his dragon chariot through the thunder. The insignia and flags of cloud floated, and he sighed, hesitated,

<sup>27</sup> *Shan hai ching*, Book 14, and 16.

<sup>28</sup> *Huai-nan hung lieh chi chieh*, bk. 3, "Tien wên hsün," pp. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Not only do most Chinese myths have a long history and varied forms, but the texts in which they occur require critical examination.

<sup>30</sup> The date of the compilation of the *Shu ching* is a disputed question which we cannot discuss here.

<sup>31</sup> The *Li sao* is a great repository of myths of Southern China, the modern provinces of Hupei and Hunan. At the time it was written, the third century B.C., there was a sharp contrast in the mode of thinking and in literature between the North and the South. Here *Li sao* is used as a general title for all the works of Ch'ü Yüan as collected in the *Ch'u tz'ü* (楚辭).

and looked back. He was clad with a coat of blue cloud and apron of white rainbow. He raised his long arrows and shot the heavenly wolves. After killing them he marched victoriously westward and sank to the depth of darkness, only to rise again in the east next morning.”<sup>32</sup> The long arrows are symbolical of the sun’s rays, and the heavenly wolves, of evil and darkness. It is a mistake for Ferguson to group this southern sun god with historical personages like Chang Liang and Kuan Yü, as he does in chapter eight.

Occult practices sometimes find their authorization in myths, and Dr. Ferguson devotes a chapter to the occult, but while he tells stories about divination, alchemy, geomancy, and other interesting subjects, he does not mention any myths in connection with them. And he writes (p. 137) as if he were not sure whether the “transmutation system” and the *Book of Changes* were two things or one. As a matter of fact, the “transmutation system” is the *Book of Changes*, and Wên Wang was not the sole author, but only one of those to whom the book is attributed.

Chinese folklore is very rich, and Dr. Ferguson devotes a chapter to it. It is, moreover, a question much discussed in scholarly circles in China at present. Yet such important tales as the *Mêng Chiang nü*,<sup>33</sup> the *Liang shan-po* and the *Chu ying-t’ai* are not mentioned. Instead, Dr. Ferguson has resorted to works of pure fiction shaped for literary purposes.<sup>34</sup> It would be interesting to know where Dr. Ferguson got his statement that Chung Kuei (p. 152) was a scholar of the Sung period.<sup>35</sup> In the story of the “White Serpent” (pp. 158-160) the most important part, dealing with her love affair, the “Thunder Peak Pagoda” under which the serpent spirit is supposed to be imprisoned, and with the “Monastery of the Golden Mountain,” the connection with the “Dragon Boat Festival” and with the Buddhist monk Fa Hai, is entirely omitted.

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<sup>32</sup> *Ch’u t’ü*, “Chiu ko,” Tung Chün. Not an exact translation, but adapted and abridged.

<sup>33</sup> One of the most widely distributed of the Chinese folk-tales. Ku Chieh-kang, the author of the *Ku shih p’ien* has done much work on it.

<sup>34</sup> *Liao chai chih i* (Strange stories from a Chinese studio), p. 156. *Chün ku ch’i kuan* (Curious stories of the past and present), p. 169. *Tung chou lich kuo chih* (Records of the Eastern Chou dynasty: a historical novel), p. 166.

<sup>35</sup> For an authoritative account see, Chao I, *Kai yü ts’ung k’ao*, bk. 35.

In the chapter on "Buddhistic Myths" Dr. Ferguson has mistaken the *Hsi yu chi* of Li Chih-ch'ang for another book of the same title by Wu Ch'êng-ên. He says: "One of the most noted mythological accounts is that of the adventures of Yüan Chuang, a priest of the Seventh century, who travelled to India in search of Buddhist books. On his return he dictated an account of his travels to Pien Chi, and his narrative is chiefly concerned with a description of the various countries through which he had passed during his journey of sixteen years. This book is called *Ta T'ang Hsi Yu Chi* ('Western travels in the T'ang Dynasty')."<sup>36</sup> During the Yüan dynasty the noted Taoist Ch'iu Ch'u-chi was sent by the Emperor Genghis khan to India and was accompanied by his pupil Li Chih-ch'ang. On their return Li wrote the account of their wanderings and of the miraculous events which he had learned to have happened to the priest Yüan Chuang on his earlier visit. The title of Li's book is taken from the earlier one, and it is called *Hsi Yu Chi*.<sup>37</sup> This later book is full of miraculous events, which, although they are interpreted from a Taoist standpoint, are all connected with the Buddhistic monk Yüan Chuang, and for this reason are classified under the heading of Buddhistic myths. The first part of this book contains an account of the wonderful genealogy of Yuan Chuang."

Li Chih-ch'ang's *Hsi yu chi* is a book of travel recording the journey of Ch'iu Ch'u-chi to the camps of Yüan T'ai-Tsu. Ch'iu Ch'u-chi was the most famous Taoist of his time, and his Taoist title was Ch'ang Ch'un Tzū. So the full title of this little book is called *Ch'ang ch'un chên jen hsi yu chi*.<sup>38</sup> As the facts recorded in it are mostly authentic, it is considered a very important book on early geography and travels, and it tells absolutely nothing of the travels of the Buddhistic monk Yüan Chuang

<sup>36</sup> A correct translation would be: "A T'ang record of Western Regions."

<sup>37</sup> It literally means "Record of Western Wanderings." *Ta T'ang hsi yu chi* and *Hsi yu chi*, although they sound nearly the same when romanized, are quite different in meaning. To regard the latter as a derivation from the former is entirely unwarranted.

<sup>38</sup> The work has been translated by Arthur Waley into English under the title of *The Travels of an Alchemist, the journey of the Taoist Ch'an-Ch'un from China to the Hindu Kush at the summons of Gingiz Khan, recorded by his disciple Li Chih-ch'ang*. Bretschneider's translation, Waley says, is an inaccurate abridgement of the Russian translation by Palladius.



and his genealogy. It also had no connection with the *Ta T'ang hsi yü chi*, which records the travels of Yüan Chuang. Dr. Ferguson apparently mistook Li Chih-ch'ang's *Hsi yü chi* for Wu Ch'êng-ên's *Hsi yü chi*, because "the wonderful genealogy of Yüan Chuang" which he gives in the next four pages of his book (pp. 190-193), was abridged from the ninth chapter of Wu Ch'êng-ên's book. Li's book and Wu's have no connection with each other except a similarity of titles.

These points are enough to show the defects of Dr. Ferguson's work. Other errors might be mentioned, such as his mistaking the tortoise for the turtle<sup>39</sup> as the worst kind of vilification, and the misconception of its origin from the green turban outcast class which he wrongly attributed to the T'ang Dynasty.<sup>40</sup> Other anachronisms occur as on p. 20, "From the time of Chang to that of T'ai Tsung at the opening of the *Han dynasty*, the in-

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<sup>39</sup> Pointed out by Sowerby in his review in the *China Journal*, Dec., 1928, pp. 285-286.

<sup>40</sup> "No worse term of abuse can be employed than to call another man a tortoise. The generally accepted explanation of this use of the term is that the outcast class (*lo hu*) who had no legal status, was obliged during the T'ang dynasty to wear a strip of green cloth tied around the head. The degenerate males of this outcast class lived from the earnings of the prostitution of their wives and daughters. This was the very lowest depth of immorality. As the head of the tortoise is green it became a symbol of the green-headed outcast; and to call a person a tortoise originally meant to put him in the vilest class of human beings, and also to name him as bastard," pp. 101.

This is guess work without any historical foundation. The tabu on the turtle did not begin in the T'ang dynasty. We can quote many illustrious names of the T'ang and Sung, and even the Yüan, dynasties, named after the term *kuei*. It is only after the Yüan dynasty that such personal names became rare, and at present even words of the same sound are avoided in naming a person. So Chao I in his *Kai yü ts'ung k'ao* (bk. 38, pp. 23-24) says that the tabu began in the Yüan dynasty and became prevalent in the Ming period. Although the wearing of a green turban as a sign of disgrace can be traced back as early as the sixth century B. C., it was not officially instituted until the fourteenth century A. D. in the Ming dynasty. (See Lang Ying, *Ch'i hsiu lei kao*, bk. 28, pp. 11, 1880 Canton edition; and Chao I, *Kai yü ts'ung k'ao*, bk. 38, p. 25). "That the outcast class (*lo hu*) . . . was obliged in the T'ang dynasty to wear a strip of green cloth tied around the head" is without historical foundation. The use of the term "turtle" in vilification, so far as present evidence goes, has no actual connection with Dr. Ferguson's 'green turbaned outcast class.'

fluence of the conservative School and the Confucian classics was at a low ebb . . . ,” and again on pp. 140-1, “The development of the science into the determination of the fortunes of relatives and descendants according to the lucky or unlucky site of the grave of a deceased person, was a development later than the time of *Kuo P’o* in the *Han dynasty*. . . .”<sup>41</sup>

It is not the purpose of this paper to evaluate Dr. Ferguson’s book, but only to point out its mistakes and deficiencies. It must be evident that they are serious enough to make the task necessary. A large part of the work does not deal with mythology proper at all. It is as if one were to write on English mythology by giving accounts of Berkeley and Hume, “Mother Goose,” “Macbeth,” “The Idyls of the King,” selections from Lord Dunsany and Bram Stoker, and the *Book of Common Prayer*, with a few pictures of cathedrals and of such celebrities as Guy Fawkes thrown in for local color. Where myths are mentioned, they are not critically dealt with, and there are many misstatements of fact.

No scientific treatment of Chinese mythology exists in English. Probably the task is an impossible one for any westerner at present. Yet it is important for western scholars in other fields to realize that this is the case, and that this work of Dr. Ferguson cannot be considered as adequate or reliable.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Kuo P’o was born in 276 A.D., more than half a century later than the last of the Hans.

<sup>42</sup> There are many myths which Dr. Ferguson has not considered, such as the Chinese flood myth and the occupational myths. The Chinese flood myth represents a different aspect of this widely distributed story. The other flood myths usually say that God sent the flood to destroy men on account of their wickedness, or merely as a general inundation, but the Chinese myth embodies the idea of controlling the water and the formation of the water-ways by human or supernatural agencies.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim. Vol. I: The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns. (The Annual of The American Schools of Oriental Research, vol. XII.)* By WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT. New Haven: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1932. Pp. xxi + 165.

All students of Palestinian archaeology will readily see in this volume by Professor Albright a most welcome advance in the knowledge of the pre-Exilic pottery of the Holy Land, particularly in regard to the Middle Bronze, Early Iron I, and Early Iron II periods. In fact, the study of the ceramics of these ages is so definitely and accurately presented that for some years it will be a criterion for dating the pottery that future excavations bring to light. This is true for two reasons; the splendid stratification at Tell Beit Mirsim and the unexcelled competence of Professor Albright in all that pertains to the subject. There are ten distinct strata, separated by the ashes of burnings and disturbed by only a few intrusions, such as silos, from an upper level into a lower one; so there is unquestionable objective evidence for comparative dating. Professor Albright is thoroughly familiar with all that Palestinian archaeology has produced and as well with the results of excavations in Egypt, Syria, and other pertinent fields. There were high expectations when the volume was announced and these expectations are more than realized.

The one Early Bronze stratum, J, yielded the scantiest and least satisfactorily results. As the author acknowledges in a postscript to the preface, discoveries in EB strata at Megiddo, which he saw last summer, will compel a revised treatment of the development of the wavy ledge-handle. There is, however, sufficient evidence to justify the belief that stratum J represents the end of the EB period, which the author tentatively designates EB III and dates not later than the early 20th century.

Far more extensive is the Middle Bronze pottery. Six distinct levels are from this age and the types are sufficiently differentiated to warrant dividing the period into MB I (20th-18th centuries) and MB II (18th-16th centuries, the Hyksos period). Among

the characteristics of MB I are the peculiar combed decoration in wavy or horizontal bands and the flat-bottomed cooking pot with holes above rope-moulding. Characteristic of MB II are the long-pointed, one-handled jug (which appears first in MB I, becomes abundant in MB II, and dies out shortly after the close of MB), large, shallow skew bowls with concave disc-base and inverted rim, and particularly ring burnishing, which in the Bronze Age occurs only in MB II at Tell Beit Mirsim. Strata I-F are from MB I and E-D from MB II. Professor Albright's presentation of MB pottery is easily the most complete that has been published and the first to trace sequences within the period.

The Late Bronze period, represented by the C level at Tell Beit Mirsim, also comes in for most interesting treatment and there is some evidence for development within the period, though there is no such tangible help as in the MB stratification. Professor Albright finds two phases of LB, which he designates LB I (C<sub>1</sub>) and LB II (C<sub>2</sub>). The first represents a transitional stage with some MB forms still in evidence; the second is distinctive. The carinated bowl of MB disappears and Mycenaean ware comes in with poorly done imitations of Canaanite potters.

Early Iron I is found in the B stratum, which is subdivided into B<sub>1</sub> (showing transition from LB and representing the pre-Philistine phase), B<sub>2</sub> (the Philistine phase), and B<sub>3</sub> (the period of the united Israelite monarchy). Objective evidence for the three EI I subdivisions is found in silos closed within the period rather than stratification; but for the first time there is a convincing and logical picture of the EI I sequences. Of particular interest are the chalices, the reappearance and development of ring-burnishing, and the lamp with seven pinchings, the original seven-branched candlestick.

The A level, representing EI II, yielded a great abundance of pottery with many unbroken pieces, so that the author is justified in asserting that this pottery "may be said to appear clearly for the first time as a homogeneous group of certain age." From the A level came many large storage jars, watering pots, pitchers, large and small bowls, large and small jugs, flasks, jar stands and lamps. There are indications of an A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub> differentiation, but this is not pressed. The 1932 excavation is expected to throw some light on this differentiation, since the West Tower was found to have five stages of construction, four of them at least from the A period.

The fourth campaign, conducted last summer after the volume went to press and reported in *BASOR.* 47, 3-17, confirmed the conclusions of Professor Albright in many respects and yielded a large amount of splendid pottery of the E level, which in the first three campaigns gave very little. So, new material which will be published regarding the pre-Exilic pottery of Palestine will furnish addition rather than correction and the volume may be confidently used as a guide.

The printing, by the printers of the *JAOS*, and the proof reading are excellent. There are 15 figures in the 89 pages of text and the last 71 pages are entirely plates. The slight mistakes noticed by the reviewer are hardly worth mention. In § 11, line 5, the number 7 should be black face. On p. 32, first line below Fig. 5, 61 should be 51; p. 69, line 2, change 60 to 50. A few typographical errors, such as the omission of a period in § 63, line 17, and of the final parenthesis at the end of § 109, will bother no one.

On the whole the volume shows the highest achievement in scholarship and technique in dealing with ancient pottery.

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*Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, Parts I-III (Vols. XVII-XIX of the *University of Michigan Studies: Humanistic Series*). By LEROY WATERMAN. Ann Arbor: UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS. 1930-31. Pp. ix + 487, 521, and x + 379.

When Professor R. F. Harper began his work on the letters in the British Museum belonging to the time of the late Assyrian Empire, it was a colossal task that he was initiating, and in his life-time he was able only to accomplish the publication of the texts, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, in fourteen volumes. The further task of translating these very difficult texts has been left to a former student of his, Professor Leroy Waterman. As all Assyriologists know, letters are difficult to copy and more difficult to decipher, and Waterman well says that "the last word may not be said on this literature in the present generation". Waterman, however, has surely advanced us a long way toward that last word

in his three stately volumes, which later are to be supplemented by a fourth. The first two volumes give on opposite pages the transliteration and translation of the 1471 letters in Harper's corpus, the third volume contains a very full commentary, and the fourth volume will summarize the results of the work in the form of glossary, indexes, and discussions of moot points. It is a stupendous piece of work and one wonders how the author with his many other duties as teacher and excavator has been able to do it, and do it so well. He has not been content with Harper's edition of the texts, but has himself collated the originals in all obscure and doubtful passages, so that we can pretty well accept his version as final. His changes, however, are comparatively few, a testimony to the accuracy of Dr. Harper as a copyist.

Assyriology is at present very sadly in need of an accepted system of transliteration. Thureau-Dangin's system has suffered from the piecemeal way in which it was presented and is not completely satisfactory. Waterman has accordingly chosen to follow an elaboration of Delitzsch's system. Unfortunately, the slow process of composing the transliterated text required that it be put into type first, and the result is that later corrections could not be entered and the translation and transliteration accordingly do not always agree. The corrections, however, are recorded in the Corrigenda to the volumes and can easily be entered by the student himself at the points where they belong. In a work so extensive there are bound to be slips of one sort or another, but these are remarkably few and are too manifest to be recorded here.

The letters themselves are tremendously important. They throw light on every phase of the nation's life and thought, as letters usually do, and their bearing on Assyrian history has been well illustrated by the extensive use made of them by Olmstead in his *History of Assyria*. They illustrate the dialectical differences between Assyrian and Babylonian, and they throw much welcome light on many a phase of Assyrian grammar and syntax. A striking example of the co-ordinate adverbial clause, so well known in Arabic but not generally recognized in the other Semitic languages, is found in No. 478, Obv. 6, *ub-ba-la iḫ-te-di*, "he will gladly bring", lit., "he will bring, he will be glad". Of interest, too, are the glosses that sometimes appear in the texts, e. g., in No. 1449, Obv. 2, the constellation BIL-DAR is glossed *li-si*, thus correcting

Br. 4578 and Meissner, *SAI*, 3120, as Waterman might have noted in his commentary.

We have long been accustomed to identify scholarship with Germany, but of late years America has been taking its rightful place in the scholarly world, and Waterman is one to whom considerable credit for this must go. We await with keenest anticipation the concluding volume of his work, which as the summary of his study will be the most valuable of all.

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*Cachets et Cylindres-Sceaux de Style Sumérien Archaïque et de Styles dérivés du Musée de Cannes (Collection Lycklama)*. By JOSEPH BILLIET. Paris: LIBRAIRIE ORIENTALISTE PAUL GEUTHNER, 1931. Pp. 34 + 6 plates.

In this little book the Director of the Museums in Cannes has described some 57 seals belonging to the Lycklama Collection in Cannes. In a brief introduction he gives an account of the origin of the collection and the lamentable way in which it was so long neglected, with serious consequences to the seals. Two other chapters give a brief account of the countries from which the seals came and a very short sketch of the history of these countries. The dates for the early period are some two hundred years earlier than those now generally accepted. For purposes of description the seals are divided into eight groups, beginning with the archaic Sumerian and concluding with the Neo-Babylonian. All scholars may not agree wholly with the author's classification of the seals, but in this he had some assistance from Dr. Contenau of the Louvre and the work is well done and the descriptions accurate. The plates present reproductions of most of the seals, but unfortunately the two oldest are not included. The work in itself is not particularly important, but it is exceedingly desirable that all such collections should be made known. It is desirable, too, that this should be done at a reasonable price, as in the present instance.

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*Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library.* By T. FISH. Manchester: THE MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1932. Pp. xiii + 160.

In this volume the author has published in copy or transliteration or both all the tablets of the Sumerian period belonging to the John Rylands Library, a total of 942 texts, 58 of which were previously published by Bedale. He has given copies only of the more representative or unusual texts, a policy that might well be imitated by others publishing similar documents. The tablets fall into three groups, Drehem tablets, Umma tablets, and an unidentified group, all but one of which Fish would tentatively ascribe to the late Akkadian dynasty. The latter group, as Fish himself notes, are the most interesting in the Collection, but of these he has given only the copies and no treatment whatsoever. Since Drehem and Umma texts are well known, it is unfortunate that he did not give at least some discussion of the other group. That some of them are Akkadian rather than Sumerian is clear from No. 7, Rev. 3 f., *al Umma<sup>ki</sup> i-ba-šè*, but like most Akkadian texts Sumerian expressions abound in it as well. Thureau-Dangin's system of transliteration has been followed, but since this, unfortunately, is incomplete, some values are taken from Legrain, but a value like *urda* comes from neither. Fish has given complete indexes of the Drehem and Umma texts, and the lists of personal names are particularly important. Among these, however, some changes need to be made. On p. 70 Ishtar as an element in personal names is read both as *iš<sub>4</sub>-dar* and *iš<sub>4</sub>-tar*. On the same page *Ša-ad iš<sub>4</sub>-tar* should be read *Ša-at-iš<sub>4</sub>-tár*, "she of Ishtar." This name, as well as other considerations, indicates that *šu*, at least in personal names of the early period, should not be read as *gimil*, but as the relative pronoun *šu*, and in this scholars are now pretty well agreed. *En-um-i-lí*, p. 11, should be read as *Bêlum(um)-i-lí*; and *Gimil-ĥé-gál*, p. 64, as *Šu-ĥegallim*. On p. 12 appears the name *Í-lí-iš-ti-gal*, but in the transliteration on p. 29 the name is written *Šeš-i-lí-iš-ti*, and the final *gal* is omitted. The correct reading would seem to be the well-known *Í-lí-iš-tá-kál*, "trust in god". The Collection as a whole is not particularly important, but it is important that its contents should be made known to the scholarly world and Fish has done this in a very acceptable manner.



*Legal Aspects of Slavery in Babylonia, Assyria and Palestine: A Comparative Study, 3000-500 B. C.* By ISAAC MENDELSON. Williamsport, Pa.: THE BAYARD PRESS. 1932. Pp. 72.

Columbia University still continues to accept doctoral dissertations in the field of Assyriology, despite the fact that it has no instructor to give expert guidance in the subject. The treatise under review is such a dissertation and naturally suffers from this lack of guidance. In a number of instances the translations are not accurate and this at times is serious. For example, on p. 31 the expression *ab-bu-ti wardim la še-e-im*, Hammurabi Code § 226, is translated "the mark of an unsellable (*sic*) slave", on the basis of H. D. Mueller, who wrote away back in 1903; whereas the author should have quoted the much more recent and correct interpretation of the phrase by Landsberger, *ZA.* 35 (1923), 24<sup>2</sup> (cf. also von Soden, *ZA.* 40. 183<sup>3</sup>, 193<sup>3</sup>), to show that the meaning is "the mark of a slave not his own". This illustrates what is too often true of the dissertation: the literature quoted is frequently quite antiquated. Jastrow, for example, is regularly quoted for the Assyrian Code, whereas his translation, as every Assyriologist knows, is anything but accurate. The author set out with the very laudable purpose of making a survey of slavery in the ancient Semitic world, on which nothing has been written in a comprehensive way for years, but concerning which, as he well says, "veritable masses of new source material bearing directly and indirectly upon slavery have been pouring in". However, of all this material he has used only what others have translated and he has accordingly ignored much that is absolutely necessary for his purpose, as, for example, the Goucher College and Smith College texts in large part and the texts from Nuzi in their entirety. He has not made himself sufficiently at home in his subject nor has he covered the ground in adequate fashion. In his transliterations, even though he did not use any of the accepted systems, he should at least have marked the long vowels, and he should have been more careful in his proof-reading and his use of English. For example, "Anollur's son", p. 44, is apparently intended for "another's son"; "priestless", p. 67, is a misprint for "priestess", and "Juridiques", p. 35, for "Juridiqes"; and "unsellable", p. 31, should be "unsalable". However, one should not expect per-

fection in a dissertation, and with all its limitations Mendelsohn's treatise is a commendable piece of work, particularly when one takes into account the conditions under which it was produced.

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*Christianity and Islam under the Sultans.* By the late F. W. HASLUCK, M. A.; edited by MARGARET HASLUCK. 2 vols. Oxford: at the UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1929. Pp. lxiv + x + 877.

This work imposes on the reviewer a most difficult task. It is first of all one of the really great works on a much neglected subject, and in its sphere of anthropology will rank with Frazer's *Golden Bough*. Secondly, it is an original authority. It comes at a time when the old landmarks of Turkish history and anthropology are being blotted out, and it is doubtful whether much that appears in this work would have been recorded had the task been delayed another decade. Thirdly, Mrs. Hasluck has been able by her loyal devotion to her husband's researches to erect to him a monument *aere perennius*. His untimely end was a severe blow to scholarship, and students of oriental life and customs owe to Mrs. Hasluck a very deep debt of gratitude both for the labor she has bestowed on the work and for her courage in completing and publishing so difficult a book. In this respect too, mention must be made of the generous action of the Delegacy of the Oxford University Press.

The work opens with a bibliography of 43 pages, containing a very large number of rare works on which the author has drawn freely in the text. The book is primarily a collection of papers, written for the great part with a view of their forming chapters of a work. The introduction gives the keynote to the whole, as "an attempt to bring together some available cases of sites and cults transferred from Christianity to Islam, and to draw from them such conclusions regarding the causes and process of such transference as seems justified by the evidence at our disposal". The author has throughout the work adhered rigidly to this limitation, and his excursions into the realm of conjecture are clearly marked. The thesis of the work, however, as well as the evidence

the writer has collected, goes far to show the extent of the error of the facile assumption that the Muslim *Millat* and the Christian communities were separated by a clear and definite line. So far from that being the case, Christians and Muslimin alike shared the shrines of their common saints. Both in Christian Church History and in the history of Islam have we been too prone to forget that our historical authorities are written by ecclesiastics and persons with political interests. To them many things are clear in appearance which in fact are far otherwise. The accession of knowledge furnished by anthropological research has brought to light a forgotten regime in ecclesiastical history—that of the laity. This work furnishes numerous examples of exchanges of sanctity, so to speak, where the ministry of one faith or the other had failed.

After a detailed survey of monuments and cults, the writer passes to the second part of the work—Studies in Turkish Popular History and Religion. The survey of the heterodox tribes and their heterodox practices in Asia Minor culminates in a masterly study of the Kizilbāsh and the Bektashi, both of whom played so significant a political rôle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Then follow the studies in natural cults,—trees and stones,—and tombs. Chapter XVIII is devoted to Saints (of six different categories) and their miracles. Among other topics are the tests of true sanctity and—*horresco referens*—traces of competition and rivalry between saints in the power of their miracles. Of all the work, in some respects the amazingly thorough treatment of the question of El Khidr and Saint George attracts the greatest interest. The ramifications of the legend in folklore and cults, the theological interest of three faiths (at least) in the acts of the hero, and the wide number of places claiming his tomb, are all catalogued with copious references.

The second volume contains a miscellany of studies and appendices. The geographical distribution of the Bektashis covers fifty pages and should prove of inestimable value in tracing some of the movements reflected in Faridun Bey's *State Papers* and other sixteenth and seventeenth century authorities. The significance of the Mevlevi's capture of the girding ceremony of the Sultan clears up several misapprehensions. The work concludes with some original texts, a glossary, and an index. A word must be bestowed on the care and completeness of the index which is in

itself a mine of information and it serves to bring together the scattered fragments of the work.

The notes added here may be of some value in supplementing the other information. On p. 86, the "mysterious box" occurs frequently in Sasanian history and is mentioned by Firdausi (*Shāhnāmāh*, tr. Warner, vi. 261). The references to *Kizilbāsh* (p. 140), and its association among the Turks with Persian nationality and the Shī'a religion find an interesting parallel in India. On p. 186, the footprints in the rock find an interesting parallel in the footprints on the "Mount of Temptation" in the Jordan Valley. With "Forty Saints" (p. 309) one would associate the "forty thieves" as an instance of number applied to groups of persons. On pp. 331-2, there seems to be a difficulty in the association of Moses and Elias. Surely it starts from the Transfiguration. On p. 413, n. 3, the omission of the stone-throwing ceremony at the Hajj is surprising. From further additions, however, we must refrain. The work is not only amazing in its thoroughness but in its suggestiveness, and with that we must commend it to the reader to discover its treasures for himself.

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*The Life and Times of Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna.* By MUḤAMMAD NĀZIM with a forward by the late Sir THOMAS ARNOLD. Cambridge: at the UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1931. Pp. xv + 270.

Sir Thomas Arnold points out in his Introduction to this work the high historical ancestry of Dr. Muḥammad Nāzim. He belongs to a long line of Muslim historians whose works in Arabic and Persian have come down to our day. Now they appear in English.

Dr. Muḥammad Nāzim's work opens with an admirable survey of the authorities of the reign of Maḥmūd. No other treatment has been so thorough and adequate. The chapter on "The Muslim World in the Fourth Century A. H." is an excellent sketch. The real reconstruction begins with the predecessors and boyhood of Maḥmūd. Here Dr. Muḥammad Nāzim gives us the first scientific chronology of a very difficult period.

The Wars of the Sultan are divided conveniently into three parts:—Central Asia, Iran and Sistan, and India, and are followed in Part III by a survey of his administrative system and an appreciation of his work, where the author is at pains to show

the essential tolerance of Maḥmūd. A series of appendices on technical points concludes the volume.

This work will be of great value in two directions. First, it supplies us with a really adequate background for the *Shāhnāmāh* of Firdausi, and the appeal for a more generous consideration of Maḥmūd is not without force. Secondly, the author's commentary on Sir Wolseley Haig's treatment of the same subject in the *Cambridge History of India*, volume 3, is of the utmost value. Without in the least depreciating the value of Sir Wolseley's work, it is possible to recognize here the value of a closer examination of various periods in Indian history, free from the traditional pre-suppositions which have so often marred otherwise excellent work on the subject. Dr. Muḥammad Nāzim has produced a model survey of a great reign and we hope it is but the prelude to a systematic survey of the pre-Mughal period in Indian history.

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*Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village.* By HILMAN GRANQUIST. Helsingfors, 1931. Pp. viii + 200.

This publication has appeared under the auspices of the Societas Scientiarum Fennica. The author presents in it the marriage conditions that exist in Arṭās, a Muhammedan village, south of Bethlehem. She had the good fortune of having 'Alya as her informer, and those who know 'Alya will readily agree with Miss Granquist that she is "the best informer of the village" (p. 20). In the three chapters, comprising her careful, ethnographical study, the author treats in an interesting and somewhat unique manner "The Age of Marriage," "The Choice of a Bride," and "Marriage by Consideration," covering each subject in its various aspects. Every married man and woman of Arṭās has been the subject of Miss Granquist's investigation, in the course of which she found that the 199 men of the village, who lived during a period of 100 years, had married 264 women, of whom 107 were "stranger wives" (p. 92 and charts). Polygyny, which is generally considered in western countries as a most unfortunate aspect of the life of the Oriental woman, was treated by the women of Arṭās with humour, and was by no means regarded as an oppression (p. 22). This

attitude is clearly brought out by a story told by the author of *Arabs in Tent and Town*, pp. 22 seq. A matron said at a wedding feast: "Let her take warning by me. I have had 8 sons, (murmurs of admiration, Mashallah!) I have done all that is needful. I want no more. Why will not my husband take another wife? Truly I would be to her as a mother . . . etc." The preponderance of men over women in Arṭās is attributed to the water of the village spring, which is *moyet ḍaḥar*, "masculine water," while *moyet inta*, "female water," is favorable to the birth of female children (p. 84). Marriages of first cousins are not so frequent as is generally assumed, only 35 out of the 264 marriages were such (p. 81).

The author makes some interesting observations on the subject of "gift wife," of which there are two kinds, the *'aṭiyet il-jōra*, "gift from the pit," and the *'aṭiyet il-qabr*, "gift from the grave." The former has reference to the custom of betrothing a girl directly she is born, and the latter is the name given to a woman who is promised as bride to a widower on the day of the burial of his first wife (p. 110).

"Bride purchase" and "bride price" are fully discussed with ample illustrations. Although there is some justification in regarding as purchase price the money which the young man, or his family, pays to the father or representative of the girl the youth wishes to marry, we must consider the background from which this custom has originated, to give to it a fair interpretation. It is, generally speaking, economic, although mere mercenary motives may sometimes predominate. It is the reviewer's opinion that the bride profits by the *purchase price* to the extent of receiving new clothes and jewelry which her father or representative has to supply. The woman continues to belong to her tribe and family, which would not be the case if there were a real purchase. This is demonstrated by the saying that the woman's flesh belongs to the husband, but her bones to the family; that is, he may chastise her but the vengeance of her family will overtake him if he injure her body. And indeed, not a few of the marriages in the western world owe their existence to similar motives and reasons, but we would hardly speak of purchase in their case, nor would we regard the dowry which is given by the parents of the bride as *bridegroom purchase money*! What makes the idea of "bride purchase" loom

often so prominently in the mind of *Westerners* is probably the fact that the Oriental father or head of a family has an almost unrestricted authority over its members, especially the women folk, which is sometimes arbitrarily and selfishly exercised. This is particularly true in the case of a marriage agreement by which the one family will lose an economically useful member, while the other gains one. The hard conditions under which the peasants live make it necessary for them to receive a *quid pro quo*, as I believe we also demand, though not necessarily a *purchase price*, for either bride or bridegroom. Since we are more fortunately situated than the poor Oriental peasant, we barter with other values, such as political influence or social position. Perhaps there is more justification for the remarks of the educated Arab with whom the author discussed the question of the relation of bride price to dowry than may appear to the casual observer, but *de gustibus*. . . .

These three chapters are introduced by a chapter "On the Method of Investigation" which is to be recommended to the careful study of all who intend to do ethnographical research work in the East. There are a few misprints in the Arabic, e. g., p. 26 read *ḥabl* instead of *habl*; p. 36 *bitmišš* instead of *bitmiš*. The affricata is used in some instances, while not in others, where it would be used among the people of that district, e. g., p. 37, 18 *riḥbitha*, "her knees," but in p. 37, 20b we have *kirkiffe*, "helpless," on pp. 49, 105, *kān*, etc. On p. 37, 20a read *šāyed kirkiff*. The author uses the impossible phrases "fellahīn men" and "fellahīn women," pp. 12, 21, instead of simply *fellāḥīn*, which means "peasant men," and *fellāḥāt*, "peasant women." There are also a few misprints in the English, which the reader will easily detect.

It is to be hoped that the author will soon publish the whole of her interesting study on marriage, as well as the material on other customs and habits which she has collected during her sojourn in Palestine.

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*Tafsīr al-Alfāz al-Dakhīlah fī al-Lughah al-‘Arabīyah.* By ṬUBĪYA AL-‘UNAYSI. 2nd edition by TŪMA AL-BUSTĀNI. Cairo: MAKTABAT AL-‘ARAB, 1932. Pp. iv + 80.

This is a list of some 1500 Arabic loanwords from Greek, Latin, Persian, Turkish, Italian, Aramaic, and other Semitic and Indo-European languages. The words are alphabetically arranged and briefly defined. Most of the etymologies given are correct. Among the mistakes noted are: *abnūs* (p. 1), which is made Hindu but is in reality of ancient Egyptian origin through Greek which also gave Eng. “ebony”; *kūfīyah* (p. 65, “shawl for covering the head”), which is made Italian, although the Italian comes from the Arabic form meaning “made in al-Kūfah”; *hawāriyūn* (p. 23, “apostles of Jesus”), which is not Aramaic but Ethiopic.

The author was satisfied in the majority of cases with the immediate language which transmitted the foreign word to Arabic in spite of the fact that that language may have only served as the last chain in a long link. For instance, *kīmiyā’* (p. 66, “alchemy”) is Greek, as stated, but the Greek word itself goes back to an Egyptian original. On the other hand *qindīl* (p. 59, “candle, lamp”), which is rightly made Latin, has not come to Arabic directly from Latin but through Greek and Aramaic; and *jahannam* (p. 22, “Gehenna”), which is rightly considered Hebrew, came through Ethiopic. The list in the book is far from being exhaustive. Some of the most common words in the religious vocabulary, such as *minbar* “pulpit”, *miṣḥaf* “holy book”, *mihrāb* “niche” — of Ethiopic origin — are not listed. Many of the ordinary agricultural terms in Arabic, including *nīr* “yoke”, *nāṭūr* “watchman”, *faddān* “acre”, are of Aramaic derivation and should have found a place in such a work. The book, even in its small form, is of value as an eye-opener to the purists of the old school, who are always ready to protest when a foreign word is admitted into the language in which the Holy Koran was written.

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*Umarā’ al-Shī’r al-‘Arabi fī al-‘Aṣr al-‘Abbāsi.* By ANĪS KHŪRI AL-MAQDISI. Beirut: AL-MATBA‘AH AL-ADABĪYAH, 1932. Pp. 437.

We are beginning to hear more and more from Arabic-speaking scholars trained in Western methods of literary research and



linguistic criticism. The Egyptian group is led by Ṭāha Ḥusayn, who holds his doctorate from a French university and whose "radical" views have cost him recently his chair in the Egyptian University. In Syria the articles which have been appearing in the review of the Arab Academy by Shafiq Jabri, of the Arab University at Damascus, and those written in *al-Mashriq* by Fu'ād al-Bustāni, of the Jesuit University of Beirūt, — all re-interpreting Arabic poets of the classical age — would hardly have been possible a few years ago. And now comes the turn of the professor of Arabic literature at the American University of Beirūt who makes his theme the seven "princes of Arabic poetry" in the 'Abbāsīd period, the most glorious period in Arab history. The poets chosen are abu-Nuwās, abu-al-'Atāhiyah, abu-Tammām, al-Buḥturi, ibn-al-Rūmi, al-Mutanabbi, and al-Ma'arri. Professor al-Maqdisi is a graduate of the university where he now holds a chair and has to his credit a year of travel and study in the United States. His study of the lives and works of these master poets is first-hand and comes as a distinct relief from the traditional treatment of such a theme. His critical appreciation of the poetic and literary merits of these classical authors is quite illuminating.

The historical introduction is discursive in parts, as on pages 46-48, where certain paragraph headings are almost as long as the paragraphs themselves, and fails to take cognizance of certain results of modern critical research, as in the case of the tradition which makes the Umayyad prince Khālid the first to undertake the translation into Arabic of Greek books on chemistry. The annotation leaves much to be desired. Hardly a title is given in full with date and place of publication. In certain cases the reference is made to uncritical editions when more scholarly ones have been issued (p. 9, n. 1, cf. p. 102, n. 2; p. 13, n. 2, etc.). Some modern writers are referred to as authorities for ancient events where only old source material is of value (p. 27, n. 3, p. 53, n. 1). Von Kremer's works are utilized through the English translation of Bukhsh, which is not accurate. Some European names are misspelled: change "Goeji" (p. 98) to "Goeje", and "Cake" (p. 52, n. 1) to "Coke"; also "musaline" (p. 49) to "muslin". One of the very few misstatements of fact noted is in connection with al-Bayrūni (usually al-Bīrūni), who dedicated his chief work not to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznah (p. 21) but to his son Mas'ūd. The typographical errors include

*adab* (p. 32, n. 4, p. 35, n. 1) which should read *Arab* and the omission of footnote 7, p. 36. The book, intended for classroom work, has no index and the dates are in the Moslem era.

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*Les Idées économiques d' Ibn Khaldoun*: Essai historique, analytique et critique. By SOBHI MAHMASSANI. Lyon: BOSC FRÈRES, 1932. Pp. 229.

Ibn-Khaldūn (+ 1406), styled by Hammer-Purgstall "the Montesquieu of the Arabs", is rightly considered the father of 'ilm, *al-'umrān*, rendered "Culturgeschichte" by von Kremer, "philosophie sociale" by Ṭāha Ḥusayn and "sociologie" by Gumplovicz. His masterpiece is his critical Muqaddamah, which embodies his system of sociology and political economy. This Arab historian has been the subject of several monographs in European languages one of the last of which was written by Professor Nathaniel Schmidt. But no one before Maḥmaṣāni has devoted a whole work to his economic theories. Before ibn-Khaldūn both al-Fārābī (+ 950) and ibn-Sīna (+ 1037) wrote books in Arabic on *al-Siyāsah*, political economy. In his monumental *Iḥyā'*, al-Ghazzālī (+ 1111) treats, among other subjects, that of economics.

Maḥmaṣāni is a young judge in Beirūt who bears a doctorate of laws from a French university. He is therefore in a position to make good use of the Arabic sources as well as of modern European works, which he does. One chapter he devotes to the economic and political life of the age in which ibn-Khaldūn lived, another to his life, a third to the development of economic thought before his age, a fourth to the scientific method of ibn-Khaldūn, and the remaining chapters to the problems of production, money, prices, and the like.

On the historical side some glaring mistakes have been made, such as the date 750 (p. 20) for the conquest of southern Spain by Ṭāriq, which should be changed to 711-13. Among the mispronounced names are "Ibn Hījr" (p. 36) which should read "ibn-Ḥajar". The weakness of the system of transliteration used may be indicated from listing in the bibliography (p. 218) "Ghazali" and "Ghom'ah" (properly "Jum'ah") side by side as though both had the same initial consonant.

*Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterhazy 1606-1645.* Composed by LUDWIG FEKETE. Budapest. Ed. by Prince PAUL ESTERHAZY. 1932 Pp. lxxi + 503, with 10 plates and 1 map.

At the beginning of this book, there is a preface written in Hungarian, German, and French by the editor, Prince Paul Esterhazy, in which he says that his aim is to give to scholars new material on the history of his native country extracted from the archives of his ancestor. The present volume is the second one of the series *Schriften des Palatins Nikolaus Esterhazy*. In the preface of Mr. Fekete, these archives are discussed generally, with special reference to this publication.

The very long (pp. xvii-lxxi) and exceedingly interesting introduction is divided into several chapters: a history of the relations between Hungary and Turkey in the first half of the 17th century, which gives much new data on history, culture, and ethnology; a study of private letters as sources in studying Turkish culture (but this is evident for studying the history of any nation); and a very important note for Turcologists concerning the particularities of the orthography and of the language of the published material. On pages 1-204, we have the Turkish text of the 77 official documents and private letters within the period of time 1606-1645, and almost every page is richly supplied with critical footnotes. On pages 207-423, is the German translation of the Turkish text, also with very precious explanatory footnotes. Among the 77 documents, the contents of fifty are of public and state affairs, and of twenty-seven of private affairs. Some documents, as for instance Nos. 1 and 2, are very important, because they represent copies of certain peace treaties with the variations in the copies of the same treaties which were published earlier. At the end the author gives a description of the 150 other Turkish documents which are preserved in the archives of the Palatin Nikolaus Esterhazy.

A detailed index of names and subjects (German and Turkish), ten well reproduced plates of the Turkish original texts (sometimes very difficult to read—our compliments to Mr. Fekete for his deciphering!) and a well composed map of Hungary in the middle of the 17th century, complete the book.

From the contents, described by us in a few words, of the volume which was composed by Mr. Fekete, everyone can see what a great work he has done. We must mention also the presence of the complete scientific apparatus. If some small mistakes occur from time to time, they are expiated by the general value of the work. Because of this, we may reply quietly to the editor, Prince Paul Esterhazy, with his own words (see Preface, p. viii): his enterprise is "ni vaine, ni sterile"; on the contrary, all orientalists and historians must be thankful to him and to the composer as well.

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*Arier und Turanier*. By Prof. YUSUF ZIYA. (Aus dem Türkischen Manuskript übersetzt.) Istanbul — Leipzig: OTTO HARRAS-SOWITZ, 1932. Pp. 14 + 546.

To review this work in detail would be to write more pages than the author did. It is an enormous volume with enormous contents, and with a strange conclusion. The idea of the author is that there were neither Indo-Germanic peoples, nor Semites, but that they all appeared from Central Asia and are of Turkish origin. Moreover, the Arians and Turanians are of one race. This the author tries to prove in various ways.

In the introduction, the phonetics of Turkish languages are studied comparatively with those of Greek and Latin. Farther on, we have comparative lexicology of the same languages; this part is divided into several sections: universe, man, agriculture, metals, language, spirit, industry, and others. In the introduction and in the first part, no one can dispute the author, for on each page there are too many doubtful results. The author falters in the cases where the Turks borrowed one or another word from the Greeks and where the Greeks or Europeans did so from the Turks; the borrowings can be explained thanks to the mutual relations of these peoples. In the morphology the author is very audacious; in the comparison all Turkish dialects and idioms are utilized, and, for instance, occasional coincidences of the Chuvash words with the Greek are taken for normal facts. These parallels remind the reviewer of the following example of "the popular grammar": in the war of Russia with Napoleon in 1812, among the Russian generals there was one, Bagration by name. The soldiers who were

under his commandment, were sure of the victory, because his name meant in Russian: "he is the god of the army" (*Bog*, "God," *rati*, "of army," *on*, "he is"), but, unfortunately, it was an Armenian name.

In the second part, entitled "Mythology," we see the same method as in the first one. The author forgets that the deification of fire, light, some phenomena of nature, love, and other sentiments is common not only to the Turks and to the Classic World, but to all the nations generally. Moreover, certain parallels are shocking, for instance: *Pluto* and a Turkish word *bul* (of which dialect?) with the meaning "darkness."

The third part contains a study of geographical and historical names. The first chapter, "The Turkish Tribes," is written perfectly, and in it the author shows himself to be a serious Turcologist, except in the cases when he plunges again into "comparisons". In the geographical names we find several extremely interesting explanations.

Besides all that was said above, it is necessary to add one's regret that in such a voluminous work exact quotations should be so very few and indices absent entirely.

After reading this book, I remembered involuntarily the Japhetic theory of Prof. N. Marr, according to which all the population of the world is of the Japhetid origin, and my own words on this subject, that the creator of this theory "has gone too far" (*The Moslem World*, January, 1932, p. 105).

In conclusion one must say that anyone may be a super-patriot in magnifying his country, but "patriot" never means "scholar".

*Die Finnisch-Ugrischen Völker.* By Dr. I. MANNINEN. Leipzig: HARRASSOWITZ. 1932. Pp. 384. with 334 illustrations.

Besides the German edition, this book has also been published in Estonian and Finnish, and represents the lectures given by Dr. Manninen in Dorpat. The aim of the author is to show the ethnography of the Finno-Ugrian peoples, and the work is based not only on the literature, but also on the material culture which he studied in the collections of the museums at Helsingfors, Dorpat, Petrograd, and Moscow (the author usually writes Helsinki, Tartu, Leningrad).

Each of the thirteen chapters is devoted to one people or tribe, and in each Dr. Manninen gives, first of all, the statistics—unfortunately without indication of sources—and the geographical location of the tribe. After a brief historical sketch, he paints a vivid picture of their life, religion, customs, dwellings, dress, handicrafts, occupations, art objects, and so on. It is regrettable that lack of space (or another reason?) does not permit the author to examine more thoroughly the important facts of the Russian and Turkish (even and sometimes generally Mohammedan) influences on these objects of art.

The rich ethnographical material is perfectly explained by numerous illustrations and small maps. Thus, in a very interesting gallery, there pass before our eyes the following peoples: Finns, Karels, Vepses, Wotes, Ingrs, Estonians, Livs, Mordva, Cheremiss, Wotiaks, Zyrians, Lapps, Ostiaks, and Woguls. The last short chapter contains a few words on the Hungarians; they are of the same origin (is it finally, undoubtedly, and absolutely proved?) and the author could not forget them, but the special literature on their ethnography is enormous and certainly has to be studied in a separate work.

Dr. Manninen has obtained the very deep and detailed knowledge of the old and modern literature which is necessary or useful for his work. He quotes at the end of each chapter a complete enough bibliography and, among the books and articles mentioned there, many are not available to other specialists, because they were published in Estonian, Finnish, and Russian.

The book is written in a good popular style and can be recommended to either the educated reader or the scholar.

New York.

N. MARTINOVITCH.

*Die Religion Zarathustras.* By HERMAN LOMMEL. Tübingen: J. C. B. MOHR (PAUL SIEBECK), 1930. Pp. VIII + 290.

Two up-to-date and standard treatises on Zoroastrian faith and practice have been published recently, viz., Professor Jackson's *Iranian Religion*,<sup>1</sup> and *Zoroastrian Theology*<sup>2</sup> by Dr. Dhalla, Parsi

<sup>1</sup> In A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1928.

<sup>2</sup> M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914.

priest and scholar, and one-time pupil of Professor Jackson. *Die Religion Zarathustras* naturally covers much the same ground. Its author, who is Professor of Indo-European Philology at the University of Frankfurt, is already known to Avestan scholars as a translator of the Yashts and as the author of various papers and monographs on Indo-European and Iranian linguistics. The scope and character of this, his latest work, are well indicated by the chapter-headings, which are as follows: I. Gott und sein Geist;—der böse Geist. II. Die klugen Unsterblichen und ihre Widersacher. III. Andere gute und schlimme Geister. IV. Dualismus von Geist und Körper. V. Die Entwicklung der Allwelt im Zeitverlauf. VI. Der Mensch. VII. Die Seele nach dem Tod. VIII. Das Letzte. IX. Frömmigkeit. X. Aus der Vorgeschichte der zarathustrischen Religion. There is no bibliography other than the casual notices afforded by the *Abkürzungen*. A list of references to the passages quoted from the Avesta and an index of words and subjects follow the main body of the text.

The book offers new material only in so far as it adduces new bits of evidence on minor points, or further sifts evidence already available, particularly that in the linguistic field. It is written in an admirable spirit of scholarly fairness and restraint, especially when the wealth of traditional testimony is balanced against the brief and meagre statements of the Gathas. In spite of the author's studied impartiality, the reviewer is inclined to think that he is in sympathy with that new school of Parsi scholarship whose slogan is "Back to the Gathas".<sup>3</sup> He makes a convenient, and so far as the reviewer knows, an original, terminological distinction when he applies the term *zarathustrisch* to teachings that can be traced, implicitly or explicitly, to the prophet himself, and names as "*zoroastrisch . . . ohne historische Unterscheidung alles, was in der auf Zarathustra sich berufenden Lehre und Gemeinde Geltung gefunden hat, was in den Schriften der Zoroastrier sich findet*".<sup>4</sup>

*Die Religion Zarathustras* makes a valuable companion-volume to the works of Jackson and Dhalla, and it is a pity that, among the Parsis, only the comparatively small group familiar with German will have access to it.

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<sup>3</sup> Dhalla, *op. cit.*, 336.

<sup>4</sup> P. 8.

*The Lankavatara Sutra: A Mahayana Text.* Translated for the first time from the original Sanskrit. By DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI. London: GEORGE ROUTLEDGE AND SONS, LTD., 1932. Pp. xlix + 300.

Mr. Suzuki is Professor of Buddhist Philosophy in Otani Buddhist College, Kyoto. In this complete translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* he follows up his valuable *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra*, which was reviewed in an earlier number of this JOURNAL<sup>1</sup> and which constitutes an expository introduction to the text. The translation itself bears eloquent testimony to the immense labor involved. Apart from its sheer bulk (the translation covers 295 pages) the fact that the meanings of the Sanskrit text<sup>2</sup> are derived in the light of a parallel study of one Tibetan and three Chinese versions, with many subtle differences among them, is sufficient to justify the more than seven years devoted to the task. Obscurities are present in the original text as well as in the Chinese and Tibetan versions. Mr. Suzuki modestly disclaims finality in the result, recognizing that much textual and critical work must be done before a definitive scientific translation is achieved. His own version is offered, rather, as a first step knowing that "as is illustrated in the long history of the Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, there must be several attempts before the work assumes something of finality" (p. xlviii). Fortunately, Mr. Suzuki brings to the task a long experience with Mahāyānist studies and a capacity for philosophic understanding which enables him to hew an intelligible course through the thicket of textual difficulties and technical terms. In large measure his version recaptures the spirit of the original for the English reader, even though later researches may require change in many details.

In method, the translator has followed the Sanskrit text, indicating variant readings, where important, from the Chinese translations of Guṇabhadra (Liu Sung Dynasty), Bodhiruci (Wei), and Śikṣānanda (T'ang). The Tibetan text, having been translated from Guṇabhadra's version, makes no independent contribution to the readings. When the Sanskrit text itself is found unintelligible, the Chinese version which makes the best sense (usually the T'ang)

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 52, pp. 91-93.

<sup>2</sup> *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, edited by Bunyū Nanjō; Kyoto, 1923.



is followed. The result is an English translation more uniformly intelligible than any of the sources taken alone. This means that Mr. Suzuki's translation does not completely represent the actual state of the Sanskrit text. The reader is always apprised, however, of the special procedure in each case where obscurities and disagreements occur. Additions and omissions in the different texts are likewise indicated, making possible some independent judgment by the reader on the problem involved. At times unresolved problems are indicated in the footnotes, showing where further research is necessary (pp. 31-2, 246-7). The whole method makes possible for the general student of Buddhism an acquaintance with the *Laṅkāvatāra* in all its ruggedness and difficulty. For Chinese-Sanskrit students Mr. Suzuki adds as an Appendix a difficult and important doctrinal passage in the Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan languages with the several translations side by side for comparison.

As it now lies before us in English form the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* presents itself as a source for doctrinal studies and as a problem in the history of Mahāyānism. In an interesting and instructive introduction dealing with its main conceptions the translator does something to show the spiritual unity of its vast promiscuity, detecting as its essential message the insight that "without self-realisation all intellection amounts to nothing" (p. xxxix). The recognition of uniform tendency in doctrinal content, however, does not conceal the unevenness and discontinuity of passages, the seeming irrelevance of chapter-endings to the material summarized, the independent added character of Chaps. I, VIII, and IX, and the confused condition of the concluding section called *Sagāthakam* which lists 884 *gāthās*, out of which only 208 actually appear in the body of the text. It is clear that the *Laṅkāvatāra* text is the product of some historical process as yet hidden from us. Its unsystematic, disorderly character points to growth, accretion, and change over a considerable period of time, various unknown hands having a share in the compilation. Mr. Suzuki advances a tentative hypothesis that "the Lanka is a memorandum kept by a Mahayana master, in which he put down perhaps all the teachings of importance accepted by the Mahayana followers of his day" (p. xi), a memorandum whose original disorder was made worse by later redactors. But an adequate tracing of the origins of such stratifications as appear in the *sūtra* is a task for future scholarship.

Mr. Suzuki has made real contribution to Mahāyānist studies in bringing out this translation. He places another great Mahāyāna sūtra alongside of the Saddharmapūṇḍarīka for the use of the general reader. Its detailed examination may throw light on the wider problem of Mahāyāna origins generally. Zen students will be interested in it as a traditional source for the intellectual exposition of its mystical self-realization, while those taking up Yogācāra doctrines will take note of the form in which such concepts as emptiness (*śūnyatā*), mind-only (*cittamātra*) and receptacle-consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*) appear in comparison with their later use in the perfected system of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu.

It is good to know that the use of the text will be facilitated by a special index to the sūtra, to be published as a separate volume.

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*The Animal Style among the Nomads of Northern Tibet.* By G. N. ROERICH. Prague: SEMINARIUM KONDAKOVIANUM, 1930. 98 pages, with 5 plates and 10 designs in the text.

The question of the origin and distribution of the so-called "animal style" has occupied the interests of many prominent archaeologists. The works of Rostovtzev, Borovka, Talgren, and others have shown the unusually wide distribution of this style over the territory stretching all the way from the plains of Hungary to the shores of the Pacific.

This style, which is quite typical of the so-called "Scytho-Siberian" cultures, seems to be a specialized mode of artistic expression among the nomadic groups wandering over the great steppes of Central Asia, Siberia, and Eastern Europe. On the basis of comparative study, Prof. Rostovtzev was inclined to believe that this style originated among the Yue-chi of Chinese historians, or at least was carried westward by them from China, where they conquered Northern India, Turkestan, and perhaps large parts of Siberia. He indicated the possibility that their original home was in Tibet. In this connection Mr. Roerich's monograph dealing with the animal style among the present nomads of Tibet is especially interesting as it furnishes some additional material for the investigation.

The Central Asiatic Expedition of Prof. N. Roerich, our author's father, had as one of its purposes the investigation of the "kurgans" of Chinese Turkestan, the Altai, Western Mongolia, and Tibet.

The survey made by the expedition has established the existence of ancient nomadic groups which have left many traces in the form of "stones graves", and megalithic monuments. These graves, according to the author, are usually, 2.75 x 3.00 m. in size, and have an oval enclosure of stones placed close together, the corner stones protruding somewhat outside. They are oriented in the East-West direction. The grave furniture is very poor, as the burials have been destroyed by rodents. The skulls found are dolichocephalic. This type of burial as well as the special type of triangular copper arrow point are also found in the most archaic type of graves of Mongolia and the Altai region. But this comparative data being very meagre, the author is wise in stating merely that they belong to the period before the seventh century A. D. when another type of historical graves appears in Tibet.

The second group of remains consists of megalithic monuments. Alignments formed by 18 parallel rows of stone slabs, terminating in the western end with a circle of stone slabs, were discovered. Inside of the circle are usually three menhirs and a crude stone table with traces of libations of butter. An interesting feature of these alignments is that some have at the eastern end the stone slabs laid out in the form of a large arrow.

The most significant part, according to the author, was the fact that both forms of archaeological remains, as well as the objects decorated with the animal style as found among the modern nomads, have the same distribution. They occupy, roughly speaking, the area usually referred to as the Hor region, the center of which seems to be Nub-hor, bordered by Ando and Derge to the northeast of Tibet and by the Namru and eastern Nag-tshang.

The modern population of the Hor region is of a mixed type, quite unlike the rest of the Tibetans. The author points out the occurrence of the dolichocephalic type with an aquiline nose, lacking the prominent cheek bones and slanting eyes of Mongolians. He ascribes this "Homo Alpinus" type to the probable mixture of Iranian and Scythian elements.

Among these peoples the expedition found flint pouches, belt-plaques and fibulae, sword-scabbards, and charm boxes, ornamented

with the Scytho-Siberian animal style. Running deer, antelopes, reclining deer, birds, and fantastic animals, often quite conventionalized, are used as the main motives.

The author feels that these inhabitants of the remote mountain valley of Tibet have preserved the art which once flourished over Central Asia. He cited the evidence, from Chinese historical sources, of the considerable intercourse between Tibet and Iranian and Palaeo-Siberian tribes, which tends to show that a part of the Yue-chi group, an Iranian tribe of Central Asia, "wandered into the mountain country south of the present Kansu Province of China and gradually become amalgamated with the autochthonous Tibetan population in the mountains".

It was these tribes who brought with them the highly conventionalised art, with its characteristic "animal" motive and "the long heavy swords which are still the favorite arms of Tibetan nomads".

In the main, the author's conclusions are the same as those of Rostovtzev, though it may be pointed out here that Borovka would look for the origin of the animal style in more northern latitudes. It may be mentioned that the abundance of megalithic monuments and "stone graves" in Minusinsk and the Altai region may modify his conclusion, though the general region of Central Asia, such a convenient cradle for so many different usages difficult to trace, may be not so far from the real home of the originators of the animal style.

EUGENE A. GOLOMSHTOK.

University Museum,  
Philadelphia.

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*Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China.* By NANCY LEE SWANN. New York: CENTURY COMPANY, 1932. 179 pages, with 5 plates.

For some years Miss Swann has been making valuable studies in the literary material of the Han period. This book is the chief result, although several lesser monographs have already appeared. *Pan Chao* is an admirable piece of work, which is a credit both to the author and to American scholarship. It was published under the auspices of the American Historical Association. The

subject of the book was a remarkable figure who fully merits the effort Miss Swann has devoted to her. She was a poet, essayist, historian, thinker and statesman, or states-woman. She was, moreover, a member of a very famous family, and she herself had noted scholars among her pupils. Miss Swann's treatment of Pan Chao is thorough and scholarly. She is especially to be thanked for giving the Chinese text of Pan Chao's poems, which is not easy to secure. She has also given an able account of the background of the life of her heroine, and is conversant with the literature on the subject in Chinese and European sources.

The book is so good that one hesitates to make any criticisms, but one or two minor mistakes might be mentioned. On page 7, the statement is made that the early Han emperors made Confucian doctrines the basis of the state religion. Actually, the first four rulers, Kao Tsu, Hui Ti, Wen Ti and Ching Ti, were not Confucians and did not adopt Confucian principles. On page 15, Miss Swann gives the date of the death of Huai-nan Tzu as 122 B. C., following Giles. But Giles is not very safe in such matters, and there is considerable doubt as to when the death occurred. On page 17, Miss Swann refers to Wang Su as a few years younger than Pan Chao, whereas there must have been nearly a century between them. And the reviewer suspects that the married title of Pan Chao should be romanized as Ts'ao Ta-chia, and not T'sao Ta-ku. These criticisms are only minor, and the book is excellent.

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*A Union List of Selected Chinese Books in American Libraries.*

Compiled by CHARLES S. GARDNER. Washington: AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES, 1932. 50 pages.

This little volume is a companion to Mr. Gardner's earlier list of books on China in European languages. Mr. Gardner himself criticized the reviewer for writing of the first volume in too laudatory a manner, so the reviewer will confine himself to saying that the present volume is a good piece of work. As the list is limited to works available in American libraries, very little can be said in criticism. Some of the works listed, for example, No. 11, are rare even in China. 228 titles are listed, some of which cover hundreds of volumes. Two things are evident at once on glancing at the list. Even in America there is much more information on China available in Chinese texts than in western books. And

although American collections, with the exception of that at the Library of Congress, may leave much to be desired, they already contain more material than American scholarship can make use of for some time to come. This is no reason, however, why the collections should not be increased as rapidly as possible. Mr. Gardner has given the titles in Chinese and in his own variety of romanization. He also lists the library where the work is to be found, and wherever possible, books of reference, like Wylie, in which the work is described.

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*Nationalism and Education in Modern China.* By CYRUS H. PEAKE. New York: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1932. 240 pages.

It is an unusual pleasure to read an American book on modern conditions in China which can be called scholarly. The importance of the subject Mr. Peake has chosen can hardly be exaggerated, and although he does not point it out, the phenomena he describes should be connected and compared with similar phenomena in Russia, Italy, and other countries. Mr. Peake has gone to Chinese sources for his information, and his notes give exact references to his authorities. The book is very readable, and gives much information even to those who are already fairly familiar with the field.

We are too close to the phenomena Mr. Peake describes, however, to pass final judgment, and the book seems to have certain defects, at least to the reviewer. The control of education by the government is not peculiar to modern China, as Mr. Peake thinks, but has existed since the Han period. The difference is that until recently the object of education was to produce loyal servants of the emperor, whereas now it is to produce nationalists. The statement that the modern Buddhist revival has passed away (p. 144) is based on the authority of a Christian propagandist who may not be well informed, and the reviewer doubts its accuracy. The various mission schools and colleges are not given credit for their share in influencing developments in modern Chinese education. Mr. Peake appears to have relied too much on what various Chinese leaders and groups have said, rather than on what they did, and he says little about the actual conditions in Chinese schools. The thorny question of the registration of mission schools is dismissed rather

arbitrarily, and it is said (p. 153) that "there will no longer be 'Christian' schools, in any fundamental sense of the word, in China." Even though this statement is made hypothetically, it is entirely too strong. It is also unfortunate that Appendix II, containing the Chinese words, was not printed like the rest of the book. The bibliography is good, but rather brief. In spite of what appear to the reviewer as defects, the book is valuable, and a credit to American Scholarship.

J. K. SHRYOCK.

University of Pennsylvania.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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Professor James Hardy Ropes, of the Harvard Divinity School, a member of the Society since 1893, died on January 8, 1933.

Professor A. H. Sayce, honorary member of the Society since 1893, died February 4, 1933.

Dr. Frank K. Sanders, member of the Society since 1897, died February 20, 1933.

Dr. Eugene W. Burlingame, former member of the Society, died August 3, 1932.

The Executive Committee has elected the following persons as corporate members:

Dr. Moses Hadas	Mr. Roswell S. Britton
Dr. Hiram K. Johnson	Rev. Dr. Mitchell Bronk
Mr. Horace J. Nickels	Mr. Rustom D. Dalal
Dr. Trude W. Rosmarin	Prof. Robert B. Hall
Mr. Peter Ruthven	Dr. Shio Sakanishi
Mr. S. Fenton Yard	

The Executive Committee has also voted the following resolution to be presented to Professor Duncan B. Macdonald of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, for forty years a member of the Society, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, April 9, 1933.

### RESOLUTION

The AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY hereby records, upon the occasion of his retirement from active service on the Hartford Seminary Foundation, and of the issue of a memorial volume of studies in his honor, its deep appreciation of the notable career of Professor Duncan Black Macdonald, who has honored the Society throughout nearly forty years by his participation in its affairs and by his contributions to American scholarship.

We recall with gratitude that Mr. Macdonald took membership with us 1893, the year following his arrival from Scotland on appointment as instructor in Semitic languages at Hartford, and that he has published during the years in the columns of our own *Journal* and elsewhere articles and books in great number and of permanent worth. We would express our obligation, in particular, for what he has produced in the field of Arabic and Islamics, including a life of al-Ghazzali (*JAOS*, 1899), *The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (1903), *Selections from Ibn Khaldun* (1905), *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam* (1909), and *Aspects of Islam* (1911), along with numerous contributions to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the *Moslem World*, and other periodicals besides. We would recognize his unique authority as a collector and editor of the Thousand and One Nights, himself having acquired possession of the largest collection in existence of versions of the Nights. We would not, however, be unmindful of the service he has rendered in the field of Hebrew literature and of the Old Testament in particular, both by way of publication and instruction.

We offer him as an esteemed colleague and distinguished scholar our sincere congratulations upon this occasion, and extend to him every good wish for the strength and joy of many days.

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

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### FONDATION DE GOEJE

1. Depuis novembre 1931 deux changements se sont produits dans la constitution du Bureau. Conformément aux statuts, M. Tj. de Boer, en quittant Amsterdam, a donné sa démission comme membre du Bureau; il a été remplacé par M. J. L. Palache. Depuis, M. Th. Houtsma a résigné ses fonctions de membre du Bureau et a pu, à la faveur d'un autre article des statuts, être remplacé par le membre démissionnaire, M. de Boer, de sorte que le Bureau est actuellement composé ainsi: C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), Tj. de Boer, J. J. Salverda de Grave, J. L. Palache et C. van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. La date à laquelle paraîtra, comme no. 9 des publications de la Fondation, le Fragment de Constantinople du Kitâb iḥtlâfât al-fuqahâ de at-Tabarî, par le professeur Joseph Schacht, ne peut pas encore être précisée.

3. Dans l'année qui vient de se terminer a paru, comme no. 10 des publications de la Fondation. *Ḥaḍramaut, Some of its mysteries unveiled*, par D. van der Meulen et H. von Wissmann.

4. Des neuf publications antérieures de la Fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill.



## TERZO CONGRESSO INTERNAZIONALE DEI LINGUISTI

Roma — Settembre 1933-XI

The Editors have received a communication announcing this Congress for September 19-26, 1933, inviting participation. The following statement is taken from the announcement.

Roma, il 15 Dicembre 1932-XI

Le lingue ufficiali del Congresso sono l'italiano, il francese, l'inglese e il tedesco.

La quota di partecipazione è fissata in Lire 50, per i familiari in Lire 25. I versamenti vanno effettuati preferibilmente sul conto corrente postale intestato al Prof. Vittore Pisani, Roma, N. I/14341, o mediante assegno bancario (chèque) al nome del Prof. Vittore Pisani, Tesoriere del Congresso.

I Congressisti sono pregati di fermare la loro attenzione sul valore dei problemi qui sotto indicati e sui metodi che possono avviare alla loro soluzione. Le singole risposte non potranno in massima oltrepassare le sessanta righe dattilografate e dovranno essere inviate non più tardi del 15 Febbraio 1933.

Le risposte saranno pubblicate, a cura del Comitato d'organizzazione, in un fascicolo che sarà distribuito a tutti i Congressisti. Per ciascuna questione un relatore, designato dal Comitato, fisserà, sulla base delle risposte ricevute, i termini essenziali della discussione. Il Comitato si riserva di assegnare alla Sezione I (Problemi generali di linguistica) la discussione dei quesiti che ottenessero un numero troppo scarso di risposte.

- I — *L'aspetto individuale e l'aspetto sociale del linguaggio: stile individuale, la lingua come espressione di classi, nazioni, società primitive ecc.*
- II — *Influenza reciproca tra i linguaggi come causa d'innovazione.*
- III — *Il rapporto naturale tra suono e idea: simbolismo fonetico.*
- IV — *Il rapporto fra le lingue e l'indole dei popoli.*
- V — *Se e in quanto si possa tornare a indagare l'origine degli elementi morfologici nelle lingue ario-europee.*
- VI — *Il problema delle parentele tra i grandi gruppi linguistici.*
- VII — *Analogie di metodo fra la storia dei linguaggi e quella delle tradizioni popolari, delle arti figurative ecc.*

Le comunicazioni saranno distribuite in tre sezioni: 1) Problemi generali di linguistica; 2) Lingue ario-europee; 3) Lingue non ario-europee.

I Congressisti che intendano trattare uno o più temi sono pregati d'inviarne il titolo, accompagnato da un riassunto che occupi non meno di venti e non più di quaranta righe dattilografate, non più tardi del 15 Febbraio 1933.

Les Actes du deuxième Congrès international de Linguistes (Genève, 1931) paraîtront dans le courant de l'année 1933. Le volume de 400 pages environ va être mis en souscription au prix de 100 francs français pour les congressistes de Genève et de 120 francs français pour les autres personnes. Après la clôture de la souscription ces prix seront portés à 135 frs.

S'adresser pour tout renseignement à M. le professeur Alb. Sechehaye, rue de l'Université 5, Genève.

## NOTES ON THE MYTHOLOGICAL EPIC TEXTS FROM RAS SHAMRA

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### I.

M. VIROLLEAUD has followed up his publication in January 1932 of a Hebraic mythological text written in a cuneiform alphabet with another text of similar import published also in the past year. These, along with the small tablets of similar nature published by him in 1930, constitute an epoch-making discovery in the letters of Syria, with all that this implies for our knowledge of early Hebrew and in general of Syrian culture and religion for the fourteenth century B. C. M. Virolleaud is to be applauded for his generous and prompt publication of the text, and scholarship must equally appraise the splendid contributions made by Messrs. Bauer and Dhorme in their decipherment of the new alphabet.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Virolleaud's successive publications have appeared in *Syria*, in vols. X, 304 ff., XII, 193 ff., XIII, 113 ff., along with a "Note complémentaire" to the first Epic, XII, 359 ff. (He is cited below under the serial numbers of *Syria*, X, etc.) H. Bauer, the first to attempt decipherment of the novel script (*Entzifferung der Keilschrifttafeln von Ras Schamra*, 1930), has since published a brochure entitled *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, 1932 (date of preface September, 1932), in which he gives a full bibliography to date. This work concerns itself chiefly with the small tablets, but the valuable philological remarks also extend to the first Epic. (A review by the present writer will appear early in this *Journal*. My references to Bauer in the following pages are to this second volume.) Essays at the interpretation and translation of the first Epic have been made by W. F. Albright in *Bulletin*, *ASOR*, April, 1932, enlarged into the valuable study appearing in *JPOS* 1932, 185 ff. (his study of the second Epic is announced to appear in the *Bulletin*, no. 47); G. A. Barton in this *Journal*, 1932, 221 ff. Similar studies are given by J. P. Naish in *PEFQS* 1932, 154 ff., and in two articles which have come too late to hand for me to use; T. H. Gaster, "The Combat of Death and the Most High", *JRAS* Oct. 1932; H. A. Ginzberg, a study of the first Epic in the current volume of the Hebrew journal *Tarbiz*, 106 ff. I note also the valuable philological notes by Baneth in *OLZ* 1932, 449 ff., and two important articles by Hrozný, "Une inscription hurrite de Ras-šamra en langue hurrite", *Archiv f. Orientální*, Apr. 1932, 118 ff., "Les Ioniens à Ras-šamra", *Archiv f. Orientkunde*, 1932, 1699 ff.

For the second "Epic" (rather *Épopée*) only Virolleaud's treatment is known to me. This text is more obscure than the first, and on first sight appeared less interesting than the other. However more intensive study discovers matters of vast interest bearing upon the cult, while a few historical and geographical clues, including the colophon naming "Nḫmd king of Ugarit", are most valuable. Withal we are given a larger field for philological observation, and comparison of the two texts helps to clear up obscurities in both. We await with impatience the fresh material as yet unpublished, to which the eminent French editor refers and from which he occasionally cites.

The first necessary attempts at interpretation have been made and foundations established. In this article I do not propose a fresh translation, for I have not gained from the obscure and dilapidated texts a comprehension that satisfies me, much less one that I can unload upon the world. I purpose to give: (II) some general observations on the literary form and character of the texts; (III) a discussion of the mythology and the motifs of what are doubtless ritual texts; (IV) a series of sporadic Notes, which will present such positive contributions as I think worthy of record for the use and criticism of scholars. The paper is, despite its unexpected length, in no way a full commentary; what I avoid I have nothing to speak upon, and silence does not mean assent to my predecessors.<sup>2</sup>

I have nothing to add to the alphabetic identifications made by my predecessors, and the queries they have left still remain mine. I follow the transcription used by Albright (who has correctly identified the character for *z*). In the Hebrew types I use the following distinctives: *h* = *h̄*; *z* = *z̄*; *t* = *t̄*; the apparent variant for *p* = *p̄*; the three variants of *ṣ* ('a, 'e, 'e/u?) as *ṣ*, *ṣ̄*, *ṣ̄̄*. On the uncertainty as between the sounds of *ṣ* and *h̄* I call attention to the very pertinent remarks of Bauer, pp. 20 ff.

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<sup>2</sup>I refer to the first Epic as A, to the second as B, followed with Roman numeral for column, with Arabic for line. In some cases Vir. has numbered the lines consecutively between two successive columns; I find it convenient to keep the columns separate; thus I say "A iv 25", not "A iii-iv 25".

I express not only the pleasure but also the profit I have enjoyed in working over this material with Mr. Z. S. Harris, Instructor in my University, and thank him for his intelligent criticisms. The understanding of the dialogues and motifs especially requires more heads than one.

He notes, e. g., the spellings  $\text{בִּקְהַ$ ,  $\text{בִּקְהַ$ , where we expect and where all actually read  $\text{ש}$ ; I note  $\text{שח}$  for  $\text{חח}$  "two", B iv 5. Also I would note variations in form of sign for  $\text{ש}$ , with omission of the upright wedge leaving only the two sloping lateral wedges, e. g., in  $\text{בִּשְׁרַח}$  A iii 5 +, in  $\text{שח}$  A i 6 (versus ii 20), etc. For the differentiation of these sibilants at that period see Thureau-Dangin, *Rev. d'Ass.*, 30, 93 ff. (cited to me by Professor Speiser). There was at that time an uncertainty in the discrimination of these sounds which the Phoenician alphabet wisely avoided, although the oral or at least graphic distinction survived in Biblical Hebrew. The small tablets have a larger number of signs so that we must assume a considerable amount of experimentation. A difficulty to be reckoned with is in mis-spellings, some of which Vir. and others have remarked. I have noted about 25 such cases, some of which may be possibly due to the copyist. Parallelism is often a help for such corrections; but this "text criticism" should be used sparingly. Our scribes were still going to school with their new alphabet.

I may add that this cuneiform alphabet appears to have arisen upon suggestion from and in competition with the Phoenician alphabet, which was already in existence; similarly the Persian cuneiform alphabet was an adaptation of the idea of the far-flung Aramaic alphabet to cuneiform. Both attempts failed before the simpler alphabets.

## II.

The consecutive sense of these poems is often rendered most obscure by a number of causes in addition to the difficulties arising from their fragmentary character and the novel lexical material; the uncertainty as to gender and number of the verb, the problem as to use of the impf. as narrative tense or futuritive (see Bauer, pp. 66 ff.), the constant problem as to the *persona loquens*. A slight change in the understanding of one word and its syntax or in the assignment of the speaker may make all possible difference.

Albright has first noticed (*JPOS* 206 ff.) the rhythmic character of the texts. Another equally important element is that of repetition, giving the quality of a refrain to the composition. I note the very suggestive article by I. W. Slotki, "The Song of Deborah", *Journ. Th. St.*, July, 1932, pp. 341 ff., in which, following similar essays on the construction of certain Psalms in the

same journal, he elaborates his theory of "Repetition and Antiphony" in that Song, which is nearest in time of all Biblical compositions to our poems. E. g., I note his treatment of the repetitive *crescendo* of vv. 26 f. He supposes that there had taken place a simplification of the original form, the repetitions, musically understood, becoming avoided in the writing, so that we have the original in a somewhat stenographic form. Certainly there can be felt, if not exactly diagnosed, a similarity in poetic rhetoric between our poems and the Song of Deborah, and the discovery heightens our notion of the poetic possibilities of the second pre-Christian millennium.

I cite some cases of such progressive repetitions. A i 15 ff.: Cries El to Lady Asherat-of-the-Sea, "Hear!"—to Lady A., "Give!"; this is repeated in iii 22 ff. Again, A vi 22 ff.: Sun cries to Mot, "Hear!"—to the divine Son Mot, "How wilt thou fight?" B v 120 ff.: Answered Kṭr and Ḥss, "Hear!"—to Aleyan Baal, "Build!" Now the recognition of this poetic form enables us to interpret the misunderstood syntax of לְבַחֲלָה עֵנָה A ii 14. Vir. takes לְ as prep., but then must eke out the dative with "to Virgin Anat (belongs the decision)". Albr. translates as vocative, this with no support, unless it is found in Arabic *yala-* (Wright, *Arab. Gr.*, 2, p. 152). But the argument runs thus: in l. 11 Anat accosts Mot: "Give me back my brother". And answers Mot, "What doest thou require?"—to Virgin Anat,—i. e., with resumptive dative after "answers". Then in l. 15 Anat responds without introduction: "I will go and hunt every mountain", etc., which certainly cannot be put in Mot's mouth. For the critical importance of the proper interpretation for the understanding of the myth involved see under (III).

This principle of parallelism and repetition is one of the surest keys for interpretation. I give a typical case: In A iii 5 occurs בְּשֵׁרָה בְּנֵי בְנֵה, translated by all, as also by myself, at first (although I could not understand who the "son" is): "Good news, O my son(s) whom I have borne (sc. begotten)". The phrase with its preceding context appears again in the new tablet, B ii 10 f. iii 30 f. I refer to Note at A iii 4 f. for the texts and their comparison. In B Vir. is forced to see that the phrase is a parallel epithet to לִשְׁפָן אֵל רַפְּאֵר, in which position I must follow him (for possible light on the obscure epithet see the Note). In our A text we have the parallelism:

בהלם לטפן אל דפאר  
בשרת בני בנוח

בהלם is || to בשרת, i. e., the latter is to be analyzed as ב+שרת and, as I argue in the Note, is to be translated "by the oracle of", parallel to "by the dream of Ltpn".

For other cases of interpretation through parallelism see Notes at A i 5 f., B iv 38 f., iv 41, 43, etc.; also Note at B v 70 ff. for a case where I criticize Vir. without arriving at certain result.

With the intricacy and repetition of the speaking parts the question arises whether we have not to allow a Narrator or Chorus or both. A chorus is suggested by the truly pathetic lines in A ii 4 ff., repeated in 26 ff. (see Note): "While days continue, for days, for months the affection of Anat compels her, like the heart of the wild-cow for her calf, like the ewe for her lamb—so the heart of Anat." Evident connections with the Tammuz ritual will be cited under (III), e. g., the choric cry, "My Brother". In Psalm exegesis we have come to recognize the place of Chorus, Voices, Oracles, in the temple liturgy; and here we may speculate upon the rendering of *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*, as Lucian calls them, with ample degree of dramatic pomp. This possibility must be reckoned with in the unravelling of the "plots" of our poems; the themes of all such mystery plays are actually very simple, but intelligible only to the initiated spectator who is assisting at a drama, not reading a libretto.

I would query whether we do not discover almost a comic element in B v 120-vi, with the bandying of the terms concerning the construction of the temple (whether windows or not!) between Aleyan and the two genii, the exact words being repeated three times.

### III.

The two tablets present a *Wirrwarr* of divine personages and motifs which can only be explained as a result of competition and syncretism of rival cults. The position of Ugarit, in close contact with all the Semitic Hinterland, on the border of Anatolia, facing the Western Sea made it a cosmopolitan nucleus of most diverse peoples and religions; and we actually find in addition to local elements vouched for in Syrian-Phoenician tradition the influences of Babylonian, Arabian and Mediterranean theologies, while many points, obscure names of gods and their localities of "barbarous"

formation, refer us to the influences of Anatolia, for which Hrozný's reading of certain "Hurrite" texts from Ras Shamra are most illuminating.

The supreme deity is El.<sup>3</sup> He is "King, Father of Years", for which attribute we have earlier Biblical parallels than that of "Ancient of Days" which has been cited, while Sanchuniathon and Damascius give evidence for this Ancient God, Kronos-Chronos, "Ἡλ ὁ καὶ Κρόνος (Note, A i 8). He is God-King (Note, B i 4 ff.); Most-Wise God (Note, B iv 41), by the grey hairs of whose beard he is adjured (Note, B v 65 f.); "the Baal, Exalted One (מרים = עליין, Sanchuniathon's Μητροῦμος — Note, B iv 19) of the North (צפון)." The identification of the Mount of the North with the Classical Mons Casius, the modern el-Akra', the lofty promontory to the north of Ras Shamra has already been established.<sup>4</sup> This high peak was a localization of the northern Olympus, to which proud Ashur aspired to ascend, Is. 14:13; and ideally Mount Zion was like the mythical Olympus in the enthusiasm of her devotees—"Sion in the recesses of the North", Ps. 48:3. For Tyre it was "the Holy Mount of God", Eze. 28:14.

El also appears as localized at other points (for such localizations of the High God cf. Alt's monograph, *Der Gott der Väter*). Of interest is the El-of-Zṣr, or Zṣr, who appears at A vi 31, B vii 47, viii 32, with Zṣr in another combination in B viii 4. I consulted Professor Speiser about the identification of such a possible locality, and he promptly named Zinzar, occurring in a Tell el-Amarna

<sup>3</sup> For a summary of the deities discovered in the small Tablets, see Bauer, pp. 36 ff., and his excursus on the names Mot and Aleyan, pp. 71 ff. Cf. the list of deities by whom adjuration is made in the Aramaic stele of Sudshin, near Aleppo, among whom appear אֱלִיָּין (Bauer, *Afo* 1932, 1 ff.; cf. Cantineau, *Rev. d'Ass.*, 1931, 167 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> See Baedeker, *Palestine*, 1906, p. 357, which gives its altitude at 1770 m. A photograph of it appears in Dussaud, *La Syrie antique et médiévale illustrée*, pl. 64. It is said that the eastern point of Cyrus can be seen from its top lying like a great triangle in the sea. Baal-Sapon is listed in an inscription of Esarhaddon as one of the gods of King Baal king of Tyre; and in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (*Annals*, 127) as a mountain in Lebanon, so also in Sargon's *Annals* (I. 204; I owe the references to Professor Speiser). A Baalat-Sapon appears in an Egyptian text, Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, 315. Sapon also appears as a deity in the small Tablets, Bauer, p. 37. The deity had a sanctuary on the borders of Egypt, Ex. 14:2. I find the best description of the mountain given in the *Handbook of Syria* (University Press, Oxford, n. d.), p. 328.

tablet, Knudtson, no. 53. (For the dissimilation he compares Izalla > Inzalla in Nuzi tablets.) It appears also in the records of the Middle Kingdom as an important strategic point, as Sezar or Senzar: Breasted, *Records of Egypt*, under Thutmosis III, § 584, under Amenhotep II, § 798a. The place was early identified with Sheizar, a strategic point in the Orontes valley (to the SE of Ras Shamra), the Greek Larissa, and famous in the Middle Ages. And Dr. Speiser supplementarily reports to me the occurrence of the place-name in a long list of such names in a Hittite text (Forrer, *Reallex. d. Ass.*, 100b), in which Zinzirra follows immediately upon Ugaritta; this appears to be a clinching proof.<sup>5</sup> For other localized deities I may note names compounded with Zr, Heb. צור, "Rock", an ancient Semitic epithet for deity (Note, B viii 1 ff.). In B i 4 ff. some further deities with their sanctuaries are named; see Note.

The plural of El, אֱלֹהִים, is used to express plurality, as at B vii 50, "divinities and men"; B iv 51, "like the divinities, like the sons of Asherat", and in the interesting phrase, "the assembly of the divinities", B iii 13 (Note); and as well in the abstract sense of deity, so Mot is מוֹת אֱלֹהִים, in exactly the same sense as בר אלהין, Dan. 3:25 (see my *Comm. ad loc.*), and the Biblical בני אֱלֹהִים. At times there is uncertainty as between sing. and pl. (as in Biblical grammar in the syntax of אֱלֹהִים); we find נֵת אֵל "the Flame of Deity" once, A iii 24, else נֵת אֱלֹהִים. For these Elim cf. Sanchuniathon, in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*, i. 10, 37b (I follow Gifford's text here and below): οἱ σύμμαχοι Ἡλίου τοῦ Κρόνου Ἐλωείμ ἐπεκλήθησαν (see Gifford's note). The pl. אֱלֹהִים also appears in the small Tablets, no. 3, ll. 12, 18.

Next in importance among the gods accessory to the drama of Aleyan is the enigmatic אֵל דַּשְׁאֵר לַטֶּפֶן, "Ltpn-god-of-P'ed", who appears as identical with אֵל אֶבֶךְ הוֹת לַטֶּפֶן (A iv 34, A vi 26, B iv 47, and אֵל דַּשְׁאֵר B i 4 +, also simply as אֵל B iv 30 (by error?), "Ltpn" disappearing in B. Their identity is further established by Ltpn's cognomen בְּנֵי בְנוֹת, attributed to Tr-El, B i 10 +. Tr-El evidently means Bull of El—

<sup>5</sup> See also Meyer, *GA*<sup>2</sup> ii, pt. 1, and Olmstead, *Pal. and Syria*, in Index. For photographs of the ruined Arabic castle at Sheizar see Dussaud, *op. cit.*, pl. 104, and the frontispiece to the two respective volumes of Hitti's text and translation of the *Examples* of Uṣāma ibn Munḳidh, whose home Sheizar was.



of what provenance this title is we do not know; it is speculation to think of Hadad's bull, of the Minotaur, of Anatolian bull deities (for which latter see Frazer, *Adonis*, 79 f.). As 'abbir the Hebrew God once bore similar title. He is, if the dialogue be read aright, son of El-Melek, B iv 47 +, and apparently father of Mot, A vi 26 +; also A iv 34 may make him father of the Flame of Sun. Ltpn is a "master of dreams" as argued under (II).

Dagan (Dagon) appears as father of Aleyan, A i 23 f., a proper parent for the corn-god. 'Attar appears once, at the end of A i, where he assumes the throne of the vanished Aleyan. This male 'Attar connects with the S. Arabian religion; Albright notes its occurrence in the name of a prince of Taanach.

Of the two divine champions Mot and Aleyan, the former has already been placed; see Paton at end of his article, "Canaanites", *ERE* 3, 182, and Bauer, pp. 71 ff. He is son of Tr-El, as observed above, and (if I understand the syntax) of Asherat, A v 1. In addition to his constant title as "Ben Elim", he is also מרר אל "friend of El", this attribution appearing clearly in B viii 23. For Aleyan's similar title "Beloved" see below. The title Baal is never applied to him. He disappears after text A until B vii, viii, where his cult is rival to Aleyan's.

For the pronunciation "Alēyān" I refer to Albright's remarks.<sup>6</sup> A foreign origin might be claimed for this deity on account of the novelty of his name and its occurrence in a list of gods in the "inscription hurrite" (Tab. 2), commented on by Hrozný, pp. 122, 126, where it is spelt אלן אלן. In B viii 34 is found אלל; evidently the word underwent transformations. But as Aleyan is son of the good Semitic goddess Anat, I suggest the following process of identification. There are two Phoenician names known from the Greek, Mygdalion and Pygmalion. In the latter name the first element Pygm represents the obscure god-name עע, which appears in composition with נע = Adonis in the name עענע, i. e. עע = נע = Alion. For the phonetic development of

<sup>6</sup> P. 190. His precisising of the final vowel is doubtless correct, and I follow his pronunciation. Final -ān > -ōn > -ūn is characteristic of antique personal and local names throughout Syria-Palestine; the same element appears in *nn. pr.* in S. Arabia and N. Arabia, e. g., the names in Gen. 36. It appears to have been a suffix expressing distinction, and so may be identical with -(ā)n, which in South-Arabia has the force of the article. I see no reason for fusion or confusion of our word with 'Elyon.

"Aleyan" and its possible etymology I refer to the note below. We thus obtain historical argument for the identification of Aleyan with Adonis, which our texts enforce. Vir., xii, 356, n. 3, claims from an unpublished fragment the occurrence of אֲדֹנִי "Adonis" || to נַעֲמָן.<sup>7</sup>

Aleyan's current title is Baal; also he appears as "Baal of the earth", A iii 9, as חֲרָן (Note, B v 97), as "our King and Judge", B iv 43. His most interesting epithet is יָדָד, "Beloved", either sole, or as the "Beloved of the El of Zinzar"—evidently indicating a particular local cult at that place on the Orontes; see Note, A vi 30 ff. With this title we make connection with Phoenician mythological sources. Eusebius cites from Porphyry—and he in turn doubtless from Sanchuniathon—as follows (10c-d—I follow Gifford's translation): "Kronos then, whom the Phoenicians call El, subsequently after his decease was deified as the star Saturn; and he had by a nymph of the country named Anobret an only-begotten son, whom on this account they called Ιεδουδ, the only-begotten, being still so-called among the Phoenicians; and when very great dangers from war beset the country, he arrayed the son in royal apparel and prepared an altar and sacrificed him." For Ιεδουδ, "beloved", it is to be observed that Gifford prefers this reading to the usual Ιεουδ.<sup>8</sup> We thus discover a background for

<sup>7</sup> For these names see Cooke, *NSI* 55. For the names Mygdalion, Pygmalion Schröder, *Phön. Sprache*, 102, in a paragraph on "Mouillierung" in Phoen. words, argues that -alion is derived from 'alōn "god". But the initial vowel is not what is desired for the latter. Accepting with him the principle of "Mouillierung", we may regard our name as developed out of 'allōn, and this is then identical with the same Heb. word for "oak", with its peculiar form as distinct from the more frequent 'ēlōn; 'āllōn is used especially of sacred trees, Gen. 35: 8, Hos. 4: 13, and would be a most appropriate name for this deity of vegetation. The intruded ָ in our word is comparable to the same phenomenon in נִי־אֵל; see my explanation, *JAOS* 1926, 58.

<sup>8</sup> The latter indeed as representing Heb. יָדָד "only" suits the context better, but the vocalization—ουδ better falls in with יָדָד || יָדָד. "Only-begotten" and "beloved" are synonymous; cf. Gen. 22: 2, "Take thy son, thine only son, whom thou lovest", a passage that has long been compared with the Phoenician legend. The root יָדָד in Heb. proper names is well known; the noun יָדָד occurs at B iv 38 (see Note). The fame of the Beloved still survives in the place-name Sheikh Ma'sūk near Tyre (Baudissin, *Adonis*, 86). With this epithet for Aleyan the title of Mot as מוֹת־אֵל

this obscure figure in Phoenician legend. Is the nymph, the mother of the latter's hero, of equally obscure name, to be connected with Anat, Anobret representing possibly Anat-rabbat, "Lady Anat" ?

The identification of Aleyan as a corn-god was promptly recognized. In addition to the known arguments I call attention to my Note B vii 43, arguing that another epithet of his, 𐤀𐤋𐤏, is a title of Aleyan as "the blossom". It has been noted by the commentators that the Tammuz-rite reported for the Harranian Pagans in the Arabic *Fihrist*<sup>9</sup> reads almost word for word with the commission of Anat to destroy Mot in A ii 30 ff., this being repeated in a less intelligible passage at A v 11 ff. But the interpreters have not recognized that we have here a satirical use of the terminology of the corn-god rites. Just as Aleyan had been treated, we assume, "split with the sword, winnowed in a sieve, burnt in fire, ground in the mill, sown in the field"—so Mot is to have his "fate", but not with a resurrection; the end of his passion shall be that "the birds shall eat his flesh, his fate to complete" (I follow Albright in the latter phrase). The eating by the birds of his flesh means death for Mot, whose name is Death. We may compare Goliath's challenge to David: "Come to me and I will give thy flesh to the birds of the air and to the beasts of the field." We find here a fine piece of sarcastic *saj'*, with which we may compare Song of Deborah, vv. 25 ff. By the ordinary interpretation Aleyan and Mot are sadly confused.

The female divinities play the liveliest part in our texts, as is common in mythology. The word for goddess is 𐤀𐤋𐤏, a standing epithet for Asherat. The pl. 𐤀𐤋𐤏𐤏 appears at B vi 47 ff. (see Note). Baalat does not occur in these texts, although frequent in Phoenician inscriptions; it appears in Egyptian form in a New Kingdom text, actually in the divine name Baalat of Saphon (Müller, *As. u. Eur.*, 315).

Anat may take first place as Aleyan's patroness. The well-known information about her need not be repeated here. There may be noted the nominal identification of Anat and Athene in a bilingual

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stands in rivalry. The component appears in Heb. in the proper name Mēdad (Sam., Gr. Mōdad), Num. 11: 26, while Modad's colleague Eldad has a name of similar formation.

<sup>9</sup> See the full citation in Frazer, *Adonis*, 131, and Baudissin, *Adonis*, 111, cf. 114.

Cypriote inscription (Cooke, no. 28) and Anat-Athene was worshipped in Laodicea, hard by Ugarit (Farnell, *Cults*, ii, 654, 749 note). Her actual identity with Ishtar-Venus is established by the interpretation of A ii 4 ff. given under (II). There is the pathetic description of Anat's affection, like the mother-animal; then, ll. 9 ff., there is exhibited, not an act of violence against Mot on her part, "seizing him by the shoe", etc., but an act of supplication: "she takes hold of his shoe, at the end of lamenting she addresses him: Mot, give me back my brother! Mot (roughly) answers Virgin Anat: Why dost thou seek him. (She responds:) I will go and hunt every mountain in the land, every hill in the steppes; my soul suffers loss more than human kind, my soul weeps" (Note, A ii 17 ff.). This offers the scene we desiderate, the goddess's lament and search for Adonis, and so our text offers the earliest known form of the Syrian myth-legend. And thus we can explain Anat's naming of Aleyan as "my brother" in the above passage, and its evident repetition as a ritual cry in B viii 38-40; it is the euphemistic name for lover, common in such texts (Note, A ii 12).

As to the immediate origins of the peculiar form of the Tammuz-Adonis myth in our text—e. g. why Anat?—I refer to the caution insisted upon by Baudissin, p. 369 ff., in view of the original parallelism and easy syncretism of Sumerian, Semitic, Anatolian, and I may add, Mediterranean rites.

The rival goddess Asherat is more of a personage than Anat. It is assumed that she is enemy of Anat and Aleyan on the basis of her "rejoicing" over their trouble, A i 11; indeed she is Mot's mother (see above). But she does not continue the rôle of antagonist, and in B is actively engaged in furthering a temple for Aleyan. Her constant title is רבת אֶרֶת, "Lady Asherat". She is רבת אֱלֹהִים "Lady of the gods", and also קִנִּית אֱלֹהִים, "Mistress of the gods", where בַּעֲלָהּ might have been used; see Note B i 23. She is mother of "70 Elim", for which large number there are parallels in the Bible and Old-Aramaic (Note, B vi 46). This large family is emphasized in A i 3, "Asherat and her sons, the Goddess and her . . . (אֲרִיָּה?)".

But her most peculiar designation is "Asherat Lady of the Sea" (אֶרֶת רבת ים), A i 16+. This title has not been explained, except by reference to the mythological sea. To my mind

there arose the name of the Cyprian Aphrodite, "she of the sea-foam" by popular etymology, known to Hesiod of the seventh century with his adjective ἀφρογένης. Etymologists disdain such folk-etymology. But I have discovered that lovely Aphrodite was goddess of the sea. I cite simply from Farnell, *Cults*, ii, 636:

"Her connexion with the sea and her interest in navigation are attested by a long line of titles. Harbours and rocky promontories were named from her or gave her names. At Troezen she was worshipped as 'the watcher from the sea-cliffs'; in the Peiraeus, at Cnidus, Mylasa, and Naucratis, as the goddess who gave the fair wind; she appears as the saviour from shipwreck in the story told by Athenaeus. . . . At Panticapaeum, as the ruler of ships, she was worshipped by the side of Poseidon the Saviour; and her title Hegemone or 'leader' may have alluded primarily to this function of hers, and may have arisen from the practice which the Greeks may have derived from Phoenicia of carrying her image on board." Etc., etc. Again, p. 641: "As the divinity of a class that wandered far over the Mediterranean Sea she would naturally become regarded as mistress of the sea in this as in many other of her cults. We have a proof of this on a coin of Leucas of the second century B. C., that shows us a figure of Aphrodite, derived probably from a public statue, with an 'aplustre' among her emblems and a ship's prow upon the reverse." And a charming epigram recording her equal powers in love and on the sea is cited by Farnell, p. 690.<sup>10</sup>

But there is also historical legend to give connections between the Cyprian goddess of the sea and the cults in and about Ugarit. It comes again from Sanchuniathon (37b): "At this time the descendants of the Dioscuri [reft. to 36a] having built rafts and ships sailed off; and being cast on the shore near Mount Casius they built a temple there." It can be left to others for speculation, or rather to future discovery, how far Aphrodite became identified with the native Lady Asherat. We may assume that the latter assumed some of the former's characteristics for the sake of her Phoenician sailors who went shipping on the Great Sea; or, without pushing syncretism too far, we may think of parallel developments of similar deities, the one goddess of love, her Syrian sister

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<sup>10</sup> In the same terms Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 341. He supposes, p. 338, that the title of the Cyprian goddess was "Lady".

goddess of fertility. This connection with the sea is further witnessed to by the parallel expressions, "the sea of El, the mount of El" (Note, B ii 35 f.); and if we may accept Vir.'s translation of עַמְמֵי יָם (fragment variant to B vii 55) as "peoples of the sea", we have another reference to Mediterranean connections. In addition in Tablet 2, as Hrozný has noted, there are the names of the peoples of Alasia-Cyprus and Yaman-Ionia.

Of these goddesses I have left to the end the apparently enigmatic נִרַת שֶׁשׁ צַהֲרֵר I translate: "The Flame of El, Burning Sun". For argument concerning Špš and the adjective see Note to A ii 24. From the beginning I have held that Špš = Heb. Šemeš, "Sun". In this title we have the burning aspect of the sun, which is treated as its feminine mode. We may compare our deity with Nergal. Says Jastrow (*Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, i, 65): "als die glühende Flamme ist Nergal augenscheinlich eine Erscheinungsform der Sonne."<sup>11</sup> As the Ardent Sun she should be hostile to Anat's cause, for it is the sun which killed Adonis as the spirit of vegetation. But Anat is sent by El to counsel with her, and the latter favors her suit, denouncing the power of Mot and promising to go and seek the lost one, A iii-iv.

Of the minor deities appearing in the texts two are well known, Ẕadesh and Amurru, the two together at B iv 8, otherwise separately.<sup>12</sup>

A pair of subordinate deities appears in the discussion over the architectural details of Aleyan's temple in B vi, vii. Their names are Kṭr and Ḥss; they are treated as a composite deity, with pronouns in the sing., although connected with "and". I soon came to identify Ḥss with the Bab. Ḥasis, genius of personified Intelli-

<sup>11</sup> Our pronunciation Nergal comes through the Heb. tradition, 2 Ki. 17: 30; the first syllable = "light"; נִרַת may be vocalized similarly, but preferably nūrat, "flame". There may be popular yet appropriate West-Semitic interpretation of the Babylonian Ner-unu-gal's character. In the Tablets we have the deified שֶׁשׁ שֶׁשׁ שֶׁשׁ, "Dawn of Sun". Note the series of sun-deities invoked in the Sudshin Aram. inscr. (Bauer, *Afo*, 1932, 1 ff.): Nergal, Lš (?), Shemesh, Nūr (so Cantineau would vocalize the last); and in Tab. 17, 8 נִרַת is listed after יָם "day". Nergal also appears in an Amarna letter from Alasia-Cyprus, Knudtzon, 35: 13. 37.

<sup>12</sup> See KAT<sup>3</sup> 433; Clay, *Amurru*, 95 ff.; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, ii, 39 f. and Index (as from Westland); Vir., xiii, 155. For Ẕadesh in Egypt see Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 314; he remarks that Egyptian always represents קֶדֶשׁ not the fem. קֶדֶשָׁה, as we expect from the Bible.

gence connected with a certain goddess of Sumerian name (cf. (Delitzsch, *Ass. Hwb.*); *Hasis* is also a name of Nabu (Deimel, *Pantheon*, 135). Now Sanchuniathon lists a number of such deified personifications, e. g. (36a) *Μισωρ* and *Συδουκ*, Equity and Righteousness, for which compare Akk. Kittu and Mēšāru; also there is *Τεχνίτης*, Artist.<sup>13</sup> Accordingly I surmised that *ktr*, understood as a spelling variant for *kšr* (see under (I) ) represents a noun of that root involving the sense of fittedness, handiness. *Kutr*(?) then is Handiness, properly paired with Intelligence. Further I think that that personage may be identified in the Phoenician legend of Sanchuniathon (35c), namely with the figure of *Χωσωρ*, who “practised words and charms and divinations”, and who was Hephaestus and invented fishing tackle and boats and was the first to sail ships. Of the same race was Technites, already referred to, and also others who “mixed stubble with the clay and dried bricks and invented tiles”; which legend may tie up with the interest of our genii in the building of Aleyan’s temple.<sup>14</sup>

There should also be noticed the pair of city deities *גפן* and *גבר* (B vii 54, so to be filled out at viii 47). Vir. recognizes in the latter—Ugar?—the deity of Ugarit; the city’s name is then derived from the god’s, in the form of the adj. rel. fem. in -īt. Vir. failed to see that in the first of the pair we have Gupn, i. e. Byblos. The close relation of the two sea-ports is thus definitely established. These deities are then early examples of the city Tychae which play so large a part in later Syrian religion. We find this feature represented in Ezekiel’s prophecies against Tyre, cc. 26-28, in which by the “Prince of Tyre” and the “King of Tyre” (i. e. Melkarth) the Tyche of the city is meant; cf. “prince” used of the tutelary angels in Daniel. I note, supplementarily, that Ba’al-Gupn appears in Tab. 1: 10.

Some interesting features of the cult are presented in the texts. The architectural discussion in B vi, vii apparently concerns the

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil*, v, 206. This mythological scheme is not necessarily of Akk. origin; cf. the Biblical poetic adaptation of such entities, e. g. Ps. 83: 11: “Mercy and Truth have met together, Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other.”

<sup>14</sup> I adopt the reading *χωσωρ* with two MSS vs. Gifford’s preference for *χουσωρ* with one MS. The spelling may represent Heb. כֹּחֵר with meaning of כֹּחֵר in Eccl. 2: 21. We may also compare the unique כִּישָׁרִים Ps. 68: 7.

innovation of lighting the temple as against the older dark adytum. In B vi is given the liturgy of sacrifice for a seven-day period, our earliest notice then of the week in the Westland. Of most interest is the description of an eight-day feast with its climax in a *ιερός γάμος*; for the discussion of which I refer to Note B vi 47 ff. The passage presents the earliest liturgy we possess for that antique rite.

The parallelisms with the Hebrew Bible are very notable; some of them are noticed above, more will be cited below. Most remarkable of all the correspondences is that between Is. 57:8 and B vi 47 ff., which mutually explain one another.

#### IV. NOTES.

##### A i

5 f. מִכַּךְ not ppl.; מִנְהָרָם 'מ' is to be interpreted from parallel קָרַב אֶפֶס הַמַּחֲמֶה, i. e. 'מ' < rt. נִכַּךְ, with omission of prep. before labial (Driver, *Text of Sam.*, 37, n. 2) = "the source"; fully paralleled by Job 38:16:

הַבָּאֵת עַד נִכְכִּי יָם וּבַחֲקֵר תַּחֲמֹם הַתְּהֹלֶכֶת

N. b. Hierapolis in N. Syria with its old name in the variant forms Bambyke, Mambuj, Mabbuj. For the passage, cf. also Gen. 7:11, and Enoch 60:7, "abysses of the ocean and sources of the waters".—קָרַב = "near", rather than "in", for which elsewhere several preps.

8. מֶלֶךְ שָׁנָה: In addition to the often cited "Ancient of Days" of Dan., cf. אָבִי עַד "Father of eternity", Is. 9:5; the ancient deity אֵל עוֹלָם Gen. 21:23; Ps. 102:25. "for generations and generations are thy years". Cf. B iv 41 עֵלֶם of El; the prep. as at Ps. 72:5, Dan. 3:33. In general compare the *κρόνος ἀγῆραος* of Damascius, *De prin.* § 205, ed. Ruelle, ii, p. 318, tr. Chaignet, ii, 346; as cited from Hieronymos (3d century B. C.) or Hellanikos (5th century), "unless they are identical", says Damascius. For Kronos and his place in Phoen. theology, see indexes of the two editions named. For the assimilation of Kronos with *χρόνος*, see Pauly-Wissowa, 2481.

9. תְּהַבֵּר (+) < theme *br*, *brr*, in secondary formation, *hbr*; *brr* of ritual cleansing, subsequently of piety in Arabic. The impv. הִבֵּר at B viii 27.

11. תִּשָּׂא נָה (+): Trt., "lift up voice", but without etymology.



I think of Arab. *wajh*, "face" (which Perles proposes to find in גרה Prov. 17:22 (*JQR* 1911, 102); for "lift the face" of frank approach, cf. 1 Sam. 2:22.

11. [חשמל]הח: Vir. = "אח(?)"; Albr. reads הם, "them". But cf. כברהוח B viii 29, and n. b. הוח A iv 35, B iii 36. It may be a pronom. element.

14. חלק "perish", Eth. as well as Akk.

17. שרם = Heb. שרה, cf. A ii 34, not Akk. "mountains".

18. מן = בן [נשם]; cf. A ii 18 [נשם] מן. Vir., xii, 204, notes that מן never occurs in these texts; yet משן = בשן, B i 20. For similar process in Phoen. see Lidzbarski, *NSE* 312; for many exx. of confusion of *b* and *m* in Heb. see Delitzsch, *Laut- und Schreibfehler im A. T.*, 114 f.

20. בל = בלת l. 26.—ירע: cf. epithet of Attar ערף l. 26. Are these words expressive of second-sight, etc.? Cf. ירעני and Arab. 'arrāf.

21. אל רפער: doubtless "god of P'ēd", cf. Bauer, p. 70. Other exx. of this rel.-demonstr., with רת as fem., at B i 37, 40, B iv 5 f., etc. For its occurrence in Heb. see my note on "'These twenty years'", *JBL* 1924, 227. As rel. pron. it appears in B i 44 +.

28. פניך = אפניך, with prosthetic א? For cases in Phoen., see Lidz., *NSE* 389, and n. b. Eshmun.

29. צררת much discussed as related to zur, "rock"; but = Arab. *ṣirār*, "high land".

## A ii

4 ff. The mutilated introduction to be filled up from the parallel ll. 26 ff.: ים ימים יעתקן לימם חנושה ינ': "while days continue [עתק as at Job 21:7, cf. Akk. *etēku*], for days and months the affection of Anat overcomes her, like the heart of the wild-cow [the pl. ארהת at B vi 30] for her calf, like the heart of the ewe for her lamb, so the heart of Anat." I take חנושה as from נוש, "drive, rule", the object being reflexive (the vb. also at ii 21). I understand ים as "day", used conjunctively, cf. similar use of Arab. *yauma*. I had correctly diagnosed the meaning of the passage with כלב "like the heart" (not "dog"—a good example of the difficulty one misunderstood word makes), Baneth having the credit of its first publication.

9 ff. Tr., "she takes hold of Mot b. Elim by the shoe", i. e. in supplication. There follows in l. 11, after two unknown words, בקץ אלל תשא וג', i. e. "at end of lamentation she raises", etc.; אלל as in Arab. use of the rt., preserved in the Heb. interjection אללי Mic. 7:1.

9. ענת אחר בעל; cf. ובל בעל iii 3. Cf. names like Zebulun, Izebel, and the god-names in the Elephantine papyri אשמנביתחאל, ענתכיתחאל, חרמכיתחאל, and the *un. pr.* there compounded with ביתחאל. See also Eissfeldt, *Archiv f. Rel.-wissenschaft.*, 1930, 1 ff.

12. 'My brother': cf. "brother, sister, bride" in Cant. and reff. for similar terms in the Tammuz ritual given by Meek, *AJSL* 39, 8. The word appears at end of the last lines of B viii, evidently a choric cry; cf. the like forms cited by Baudissin, *Adonis*, 91.

13. מה = mähū.

17. נפש = iii 19. הַסַּרַת; rt. Arab. *ḥasara*, "suffer". המלח: rt. Arab. *hamala*, "weep". כן נשם: כן = מן, see at i 18; נשם = "men", cf. ונשם ואלם, "gods and men", B vii 51.

23. Cf. B viii 20 for the obscure text here.

24. For Nrt see under (III). ששש is named along with ירה, "moon" in Tab. 5, 11. For unique change of *m* of *Smš* to *p* cf. the change to semi-vocalic *y*, with final loss in the Biblical names ששבצר and probably שישא and שישוי. We may compare the equivalence of Heb. *ramas* and Arab. *rapasa*. In A iv 25, 46 we find the apparent verbal form with יששש, but in the second case at least this may be interpreted as vocative, *ya-*; n. b. יאלם B iii 9. The adj. צהררת is from the rt. found in Arab., "be burning", used also of sunstroke; the Ṣaḥārā is the burnt-land.

### A iii

4 f. See discussion under (II). There are three parallel occurrences:

A iii 4 f.	B ii 10 f.	B iii 30 f.
מננתם חר אל דפאר	העפף-חר אל דפאר	מננתם חר אל דפאר
הם צַעֲתִם בני בנות	חצֲעִי בני בנות	הם צַעֲתִם בני בנות
בשרת בני בנות	בשרת בני בנות	

For the parallelism of rts. עפף, צַעֲי see at B i 22. The above exhibit demonstrates the equivalence of לטפן and חר אל with חר אל, and so the parallelism of בשרת and בשרת. For [ת]שר = Akk. *širu*, cf. the very pertinent note by J. Finkel in

ZAW 1932, 310, on "Hebrew Shīr and Sūra". (בשרה also at B ii 5.) For the dreams of Heb. prophets cf. Jer. 23:9 ff.; for dreams in Bab. practice see Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.*, 2, 954 ff. For the enigmatic בני בנות I venture to compare from the mythological family-tree presented by Sanchuniathon (34c) a pair called Γένος and Γενεά, on which Gifford cites Renan, as saying that "they are undoubtedly translations of two Phoen. words derived from the root ילר, 'to beget'"; substitute the rt. בנה and we have the equivalence desired.

16. יצחק: cf. the name of Isaac, "(El) laughs".

18 f. Tr. "I will seat him and settle him, and my soul will rest in my breast." ארת also at B v 67.

#### A iv

30. תחבק: reflex. of rt. בעה, "seek".

31. ארך (frequent): "then", cf. Arab. 'iddāk.

#### A v

11 ff. A challenge in a series of announcements containing פרה, for which I compare Arab. fawaha, "speak". קלת = "curse"?

#### A vi

8. שבעת זלטה: "his seven z."; n.b. sing. with num. as in Eth. The same obscure word at B ii 29, v 105, vii 52, 54, and always in connection with deities; is it זלם "image"?

14. יתנה: pf. of Phoen. יתן. At l. 10 יתן may be pf. or impf.

16 ff. יתען כומרם: The vb. is reflexive, "answer one another"; the next vocable, after an Arab. mng. of the rt., may mean "at their coming together" for the combat. I take it that in the repeated pair of names followed by verbs descriptive of the contest, "Mot the mighty, Baal the mighty", the former is the object, the object being repeated in the verb, "Baal the mighty gores him", etc. The two names are distinct, Mot being never elsewhere called Baal. (For מו עו see Bauer, p. 73). The tenses may well be not historical, but futuritive or precative.

21 f. Possibly: "Mot spoke, Baal spoke." The following עלן is obscure; it appears in connection with סל, B i 38.

23. שמעמע: intensified impv. of שמע, corroborated by B vi 4.

24. סך = "how (canst thou fight, חמתהך, with Aleyan)?" See at ii 21.

26. יִשְׁמַעַךְ : a jussive with suffix without parengogic Nun, and so the foll. vbs.

27 ff. לִי־סַע and foll. vbs. probably passives.

30 ff. בֵּן אֱלֹהִים מֶה = בֵּן אֱלֹהִים מֶה, as Bauer notes. יִר is used of Mot's "coming down" to the field of combat; cf. Jud. 5:14, I Sam. 17:28. For יִר see under (III). For יִעַר I propose rt. עִיר, "rise", Hif. "stir up, challenge", cf. mythological use of the vb. in Job. 3:8, also similar use in Is. 42:13, Ps. 80:3. Cf. תַּעֲרֹךְ B iv 38 f., יַעֲרֶם B vii 7, 36. I would then read, fragmentarily: "Yedud challenges Mot with his voice . . . . Baal will seat me . . . . (in) his kingdom . . . . for its length . . . years".

## B i

4 ff. Fill out fragmentary lines 4-12 from iv 47 ff., and read: "Tor-El cries to his father El-Melek that he should establish him [ריכננה—i. e. Aleyan]; he cries to Asherat and her sons, the Goddess and the company of her —: 'And now there is no house for Baal like the gods' houses [= Götterhäuser, cf. Am. 2:8], nor sanctuary like those of Asherat's sons: the dwelling of El,' " etc. Vir. takes as subj. of the second vb. יִצַּח, "cries", "Asherat and her sons", i. e. as pl. vb., but we expect fem. sing. חִצָּח, and so I regard Tor-El as subj. of both vbs. I take וְ = וְנִי, "and pray"; also at iv 50; cf. וְנִי iv 68, "and now also". חֶפֶר, parallel to בַּח, may be explained from Arab. ḥufrah, "hole", then as crypt, sanctuary; cf. Heb. מַעֲיֵן, with same development. The several sanctuaries are named: the dwelling (מֶהֱב, cf. Ps. 132:13, SArab. *mṭb*) of El; the *mpll* of his sons—i. e. prayer-place, rt. פִּלֵּל; the dwelling of Lady-Asherat-of-the Sea. There follow obscure names of deities and temples. In Klt Knyt the first word may mean "Bride", the second the name of her temple. The deity Pdry Hrozny would trace to Anatolia; his temple's name באַר, so spelt here, is probably correctly given as בחאר iv 55. Arsy here is Arṣ at iv 57; cf. Ṭṛ in Sanchuniathon, 36b.

20. מִשְׁנֵי רֹמֶם : "with two words"; for the prep. see at A i 18.

22 f. For the parallelism מִצָּחָ קִנִּית אֱלֹהִים || מִן רַבַּת אֲתֶרֶת ים cf. the foll. parallels:

B iii 25 (Anat precedes) B iii 28 (Asherat speaks) B iii 33 (Anat speaks)

נִמְגַנֵּם ר' אֲתֶרֶת ים	אֲד תִּמְגַּן ר' אֲתֶרֶת ים	תִּמְגַּן ר' אֲתֶרֶת ים
נִצָּחָ קִנִּית אֱלֹהִים	מִגַּנְתָּ תָר אֵל דַּפְאָר	תַּצְפִּין קִנִּית אֱלֹהִים
	הֵם צָפְחָם בְּנֵי בְנוֹת	

Also note the parallelism given in Note, A iii 4 f. The two goddesses appear to be mutually indulging—in dispute?—in certain identical expressions. The three obscure verbal rts. appearing above are evidently parallel in meaning. In the present text מַצֵּףּ || מִנּוּן appear to be nominal-participial forms, the former Hif. ppl.?

23. קִנִּית = Canaanite *ba'alat*, not “créatrice” with Vir. In Gen. 14: 19 קִנָּה has sense of “master”, vs. common trr., “creator”. The epithet occurs again at iv 23. Cf. the expression for Asherat as “Lady of the gods”, v 65.

28 f. Parallelism of אֶלֶפּ and רַבְבַּת compels me to translate “thousands”, “myriads”.

30 ff. Mr. Harris notes the parallelism of בַּחַתְּ אֵל, בַּת אֵל, בַּחַתְּ אֵל (correct אֵל), יַעַל אֵל, הָרַם אֵל.

## B ii

12 ff. עֵנָה וְתַפְהֵן הֵלֶךְ בְּעַל אֶתְחַרַּת כְּתַעַן הֵלֶךְ בַּחֲלַת עֵנָה:

Vir.'s tr. I regard as impossible; *inter al.* he takes “Baal son of Asherat” (*sic*) as Mot, who is never given the title Baal. To keep the grammar I propose to translate: “Answer her and say to her [for the vb. see at A v 11 ff.]: ‘Gone is Baal, O Goddess’; yea (כ = Heb. כִּי) thou shalt answer, ‘He is gone, O Virgin Anat’”. (Cf. perhaps Ju. 5: 29.) The unique אֶתְחַרַּת is a problem. Vir. thinks of misspelling for אֶתְחַרַּת, after a similar confusion in the Amarna letters. I suggest that it is reduced *via* Akk. pronunciation (?) from עֶתְחַרַּת, and is used in the general sense of “goddess”, as in Jud. 10: 6, etc., “the Baals and Goddesses”.

21 ff. We would naturally translate אֵיךְ “where”, but in the enlarged parallel passage iv 31 ff. it must have the interjectional sense “how”: “How has gone Baal, how has gone V. Anat!” N. b. the stative form *maṣiyat*.

24 f. Read מַהֲצִי אִמִּי(ת) הֵיךְ בְּנֵיהּ [אֶתְחַרַּת (?) צַבָּרַת אִרִּי]:

“I will verily fight her sons, Asherat and the company of her —.” מַהֲצִי is an abs. inf.; other cases iv 33, 34, possibly iv 41; or it may be more exactly compared to the Eth. gerund, i. e. *meḥiṣéya*.

35 f. בִּים אֵל ד[---ב] הָרַם אֵל: Vir. inserts פֶּאֶר, which is never connected with El. For the mount of El cf. the utterance against the Prince of Tyre, Eze. 28: 14, 16 בְּהִיר[קְרִשׁ] אֵל; and for the sea of God the parallel in the same oracle put in the mouth of the Prince, v. 2: “I sit in the sea of God, in the heart of the seas”.

B iii

9. Vir. treats יֵאלֵם as a vb.,—but with what sense? If י is part of the vocable, this must be a vocative; cf. יִשְׁשׁ A vi 25.

11. יִתְעַדֵּד רֶכֶב עֶרְפָּת: see at v 70 f.

13. פֶּחֶר בֶּן אֱלִים “the assembly of the deities”, not “of the Son of God”, with Vir. In addition to Vir.’s comparison of פֶּחֶר with מִפְחֶרֶת in Dunand’s Yehi-milk inscr. from Byblos, cf. פֶּחֶר אֱלִים in Tab. 2, 17, and the equivalent Heb. מוֹעֵד in הָר מוֹעֵד Is. 14: 13.

23. אַחֵר: not “après que”, but “afterwards”, as thrice in O. T.

B iv

5 f. = 10 f. שֵׁת וּפְנִים רַת כֶּסֶף רַת יָרֵק: I translate: “two platters, (n. b. שֵׁת for הֵת), one of silver, the other of gold”. Vir. “vines” is not in place here; I compare Arab. *jufnah*, “plate”. For יָרֵק “gold”, Arab., Eth. *wark*, Vir. notes the phrase he finds elsewhere, *yrk hrš*, and I compare יִרְקֶרֶק חֲרוּץ Ps. 68: 5.

13. אִמְרָר vs. אִמְרָ, l. 8, etc.; is this reminiscent of an Akk. syllabication a-mur-ru?

19. חִבֵּעַ: not with Vir., “poursuit”, rt. חִבֵּעַ, but rt. בִּעַה, “shalt seek”, as at A iv 30; cf. Is. 21: 12.

19. מְרוֹם צֶפֶן = v 85, prob. so to be filled out in vii 11, 12: “the Exalted One of the North”; מְ = Heb. מְרַיְמָ. *Mēraiymā* is a common name for God in the Syr. Bible, the standing name for him in the Odes of Solomon (see my *Dan.*, 225). The same verbal form occurs in SArab. Cf. Sanchuniathon, 344: ἐγενήθη *Σαμυροῦμος* ὁ καὶ Ὑψοῦράνιος; so with earlier editors, Gifford preferring (see his note) ἐγενήθησαν *Μημροῦμος* καὶ ο Ὑψ. *Μημροῦμος* apparently = מְרוֹם, the same noun being used of heaven, e. g. in Mic. 6: 6, “the God of heaven”. The former reading, however, is preferable, = שְׁמֵי מְרוֹם, corresponding with Bibl. שְׁמֵי שָׁמַיִם.

33 f. צָמָא צִמָּח || רִצָּב רִצָּבַת: evidently a parallelism of contrasted ideas; ר = Arab. *raṭaba*, Heb. רָטַב (Job), “be wet”; צָ = Arab. *ẓami’a* “be thirsty”, the same rts. in Akk. (cf. “the cups of wine”, l. 37). The first word in each pair is abs. inf.; cf. ii 24 f.

38 f. אֶהְבֵּת הָר הַעֲרִירָךְ || יָד אֶלְמֶלֶךְ יֵהֶסֶךְ: as “hand” is impossible with masc. vb., יָד = Arab. *wadd*, “love”, appearing in monosyllabic form in the Heb. n. pr. יָדוֹ, var. יָדִי (caritative for

Yadd-yahu, as ישי for Yeš-yahu; Noth does not include this name under derivatives from rt. ידר, *Personennamen*, 149). Vocalize the parallel noun as אֲהַבְתָּ. Rt. *hss*, if connected with the genius with similar name (see under (III)), may mean "think upon", or possibly as causative, "make intelligent". For rt. עיר, or עיר, "arouse", see at A vi 30 ff. N. b. the jussive forms, as at A vi 26.

41 ff. Vir.: "the wise God attributes to thee wisdom" (for the vb. תחם see at A iv 37). But the parallelism with l. 43, 'תחמך מלכן וג', "x-thee our king Aleyan", etc., requires here an epithet of El; accordingly חכם חכמת is an intensive phrase, "wise-of-wisdom", i. e. "wisest" (cf. Eitan, *La répétition de la racine en hébreu*, JPOS 1, 171). The noun recurs at l. 65. For עם עלם see at A i 8.

47 ff. See at i 4 ff.

59 f. אנך, פִּעְבֵּר אנך, פִּעְבֵּר apparently with both forms of the pers. pron. Is פ identical with Arab. fa-, — "should I, then I would", with ppl's.?

## B v

65 f. Vocalize לְחֻכְמַת שֵׁבַת דְּקִנָּה: "by the wisdom of the grey hairs of thy beard". Such adjurations, I believe, are common with the Arabs; cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 268.

70 ff. 'ותן קלה בערפת שרה לארץ ברקם וג': Vir., "il donne sa voix dans les nuages, son sr pour la terre (ce sont) les éclaires. Une maison [properly reading בת for אֵת] de cèdres il achèvera pour lui". The collation of קל ערפת = Akk. *urpāti*, Heb. ערפל, and ברקם, also מַטְרָה l. 68, appears to be strong argument for finding here meteorological phenomena; is Deity speaking out of the storm commanding the building of the temple (cf. Dt. 5:19, etc.)? Also there is the correspondence at iii 11, 18, which Vir. translates "who rides the clouds" (cf. also his observations, xii, 196). Even so, sense is not obtained for the reading of our passage. I note that here we expect a parallelism between כּ+ערפת and כּ+ברקם. Further both here and at iii, 11, 18 we are concerned with temples and their rites. In the latter passage I had understood יתעדר רכב ערפת as "let there be prepared the furnishing of a temple-hall". I. e., עדר as in Arab. rt. IV; רכב in the original sense of the rt., "to fix together, articulate", surviving in the intensives of the Arab. and Syr. vbs.; ערפת as the architectural term found in the Yehaw-Milk inscr. of Byblos, understood as a

pillared hall or the like, cf. Arab. *ḡurafah*; see Cooke, *NSI* 23. While the text is by no means cleared up by this criticism, at least we relate it to the context. A parallel appears in Ezekiel's utterance against Tyre, 27:4: "Thy builders have perfected (כללו) thy beauty . . . . cypress trees . . . . cedars . . . ."

75. חרן poss. an epithet of Aleyan, also ll. 91, 98; then poss. = Heb. *hōr*, "noble", with the common primitive name-suffix *-ān*; cf. the place-name Beth-Horon.—בבהמך error, as Vir. recognizes, for בבהתך, as at ll. 81, 92. The word is evidently related to בית; Bauer regards the ה as *mater lect.*, as in מהרבה in Mesha inscr.; to which I add "Abraham". Cf. the related Arab. *bahw*, "tent, house".

77 ff. חרץ, כסף || צרם = passives plus dative.—יבלך, תבלך, i. e. a metal; cf. Arab. *ẓarama*, "burn", Akk. *ṣarāpu*, "fused metal", and *ṣarpu*, a word for silver.—גבעם: Vir. "cups", which elsewhere is *krpnm*; I suggest "heaps", cf. A ii 16, || to מאר.—מחמר is the Heb. "precious things.—אָרר = "glory"; the related adj. is epithet of Phoen. deities.—אֵלֶקצם = "to their extreme", as in the use of Heb. קצה. I translate accordingly: "Be brought to thee *ẓrm* in quantity, silver in heaps, precious-things of gold, be brought to thee glory, to their utmost".

104 f. In this obscure panel I would read ספר, "written message", in connection with חלאכן, rt. "send", rather than מספר, "count".

110. ער לחם שתי אֵלם: Cf. vi 55, ער לחם שתי אֵלם, i. e. "in addition to the meat, the drink of the divinities"; cf. Bibl. לחם אלהים.

113-116. The repeated חש (Vir. "hasten") may be the ritual הם, "silence!", e. g. Hab. 2:20.

118. Read באלף with l. 85.

## B vi

3. הָן רגם: Vir. as impv.; better in the parallelism; "K.-and-H. repeated the word".

11. כת רב: certainly "great house" (temple, i. e., *ekallu*), as at A i 18.

23. נפלאה, repeated in parallelism with אֵשֶׁת, "fire-offering", in foll. lines. Vir. cft. Bibl. נפלאות, "wonders". But rt. פלא Piel has mng., "make a particular (supererogatory) sacrifice", Lev. 27:2, and our word is to be so understood. For the phonetic changes, *mp* > *mb* > *nb* cf. my paper on "The nominal prefix *n*",



*JAOS* 1923, 50. Evidently the Heb. noun for "wonders" proceeds from מַפְּסֵה.

32. Mr. Harris cleverly suggests filling out שֶׁב־ to שֶׁבַע. i. e. "the seventh day". Lines 24 ff. then present a daily order for a week of ritual celebration—our earliest reference to this religious period in the Hebrew region. See at ll. 46 ff.

42. אֲרָרִים = "bulls". The preceding צֹאֵן שֶׁקֶל, "sheep of —", is parallel to the following אֲמֵר קִמְצָן "lambs of —".

46. "The seventy sons of Asherat": i. e. the number typical of a distinguished family; cf. "the 70 'cousins' (אִיחָדִים) of my father's house" in Panammu inscr., 3; the 70 sons of Gideon, Jud. 9:15; the 70 sons of Ahab, 2 Ki. 10:16; also the traditional "70 souls" of Jacob's family, Ex. 1:5.

47-54. These eight lines end with a vocable beginning with *y*, the second letter being almost always obliterated at the broken margin. At l. 53 Vir. writes and reads *yn*, "wine"; with this he makes no sense in his translation. In l. 51 *ym*, "day", is more certainly to be read; with this we obtain a ritual for an eight-day period. If this understanding be correct, we may compare the Succoth liturgy for a feast of an octave in Num. 29:12 ff. Fortunately the balance of the lines is entirely clear as to syntax, and all the words are intelligible or their meaning can be approximated. Each line begins with שֶׁשׁ, followed with accusatives of the deities and the sacrifices: I suggest that it is Shaphel of שָׁפַח, = "bring forth, give". as at Is. 58:10. We may then read:

47. Present to the gods lambs, a day (?).
48. Present to the goddesses she-lambs (?), a day.
49. Present to the gods oxen, a day.
50. Present to the goddesses wild-cows, a day.
51. Present to the gods seats, a day.
52. Present to the goddesses thrones, a day.

At l. 58 the word אֲשֶׁרֶת is unknown, but represents evidently an animal; Professor Speiser cleverly compares Akk. *hurāpu* "the young of sheep", which is common in the Nuzi tablets; cf. Landsberger, *Afo* 1926, 164 ff. The god and goddesses are given respectively animals of their own gender, and even the "seats" and "thrones" are respectively masc. and fem. For the former word see A i 30. The ritual is that of the presentation of (empty) thrones for the presence of the gods, a rite that O. T. students

have for long connected with the ark of Yahweh; see H. Schmidt, "Kerubenthron u. Lade", in the Gunkel-*Eucharisterion* volume, 1923, and especially his chapter on "Leere Götterthron", 132 ff., in which he also gives the pertinent literature for the Hellenic world. I proceed with the remaining lines:

53. Present to the gods רַחֲבָה, a day.

54. Present to the goddesses [רַחֲבָה] a day.

Here the gift to the gods becomes one of fem. gender, we may assume that that for the goddess is masc. The second word is read by Vir. רַחֲבָה, so as fem.; by filling out the single stroke of the alleged *t* to three strokes (in the broken margin) I obtain *n*, and read as pl. masc. + *m*, with the result as above. I have only at the last moment seen light on these two lines. It occurred to me that the two cryptic words appear in a Biblical text denouncing some form of obscene worship, namely Is. 57:8. It reads: "Behind the door and the door-post thou [fem.] hast set up thy זכרון . . . . . [a half-line obscure]; thou hast made broad thy bed [so the usual tr. of הִרְחַבְתָּ מִשְׁכְּבְּךָ]; . . . . . [a half-line obscure]; thou hast loved lying with them, seeing the pillar (יָד)". Since the Targum it has been recognized that the last Heb. word stood for an idol figure, and for long it has been understood as a word for the phallus. More recently, at least since Franz Delitzsch's Commentary, and established more positively by Duhm, whom subsequent commentators follow, זכרון is interpreted in the same way, as the "male"-organ. It is the very word we have above in l. 54; the goddesses are presented with these lustful symbols. The gift to the gods, רַחֲבָה, must then represent the female organ, an aphrodisiac symbol for the gods. Thus at once light is cast upon the Isaianic passage; the phrase הִרְחַבְתָּ מִשְׁכְּבְּךָ must have a technical meaning. And now we understand the meaning of the Biblical passage; it is a denunciation of the *ἐπὶ γάμος* of some goddess, to whom the feminine gender of the verbs and pronouns refer. For these rites I can only briefly refer to the extensive literature on the subject. Zimmern postulates such divine nuptials for the Babylonian religion, *Das bab. Neujahrsfest*, 16. For the Hellenic field I am indebted to Prof. R. K. Yerkes for the following references: J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*<sup>3</sup>, 534 ff., 548 ff.; Farnell, *Cults*, see Index under 'Marriage' and especially vol. i, c. 8; Nilsson, *Minoan-Mycenaean Rel.*, 479 ff.

55. See at v 110.

## B vii

5 f. בְּצֶרְכֶם : "in your mountain" || to בְּצֶפֶן. For the noun see at viii 2.

11 f. Fill out מ- (bis) to מַרְיִים as epithet of Baal; see at iv 19.

35. Read אֶאֱחֹר "I will take" (Vir. חִי).

43. אֶמְלֹךְ אֶב לְמֶלֶךְ : "I will make אֶב king"; the word is epithet of Aleyan, as at l. 35 בְּעַל אֶב, l. 37 אֶב בְּעַל אֶב (with different Alephs). I suggest אֶב = אֶב, "blossom", as at Cant. 6: 11 = Akk. *inbu*, etc., and take it as proper title of the corn-god. Cf. the very *à propos* section in Baudissin, *Adonis*, 161-166, "Die Deutung des Adonis als die Frucht". He cites many examples of the application to Adonis of the epithet *καρπός*.

49 ff. בְּגִנְתָּהּ; I suggest from גִּן by reduplication, "in his garden" (Vir., "in his tomb"). For the Adonis gardens see Frazer, *Adonis*, i, c. 9; Baudissin, *Adonis*, 130 ff. Cf. possibly Eze. 28: 17. Then read: "I rejoice that he will reign over gods, let him rule over gods and men"; מֵרָא, "rule" from the rt. in Aram. *mārē'* and Arab. *imru'*, "man".

## B viii

1 ff. רֶֿכֶּ = צֶֿר "Rock" (as at vii 5), primitive name for deity in Bible, old Arabic, etc. The following titles, "Rock of Trzzz". "Rock of Trmg" are doubtless geographical. May we compare for the former חֲרִי, "Tarsus", and may the accumulation of emphatics be attempts at spelling? Line 4: "with Tlm of Zinzar, the land": the deity's name is obscure; "the land" may be postpositive as in Aramaic; a similar case in l. 8 after an unknown geographical name, which may be read Bit-Ḥptt.

12 ff. Read: "from the throne of his abode [חֶֿתֶּ with Vir. as a scribal blunder], the land of his inheritance". Biblical parallels are obvious.

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# ADDENDA

In addition to Note to A vi 8 is to be noticed that the numeral with singular noun occurs in the Sudshin inscription, Ab 3, foll.

Some of the remarkable finds at Ras Shamra in the campaign of 1932 are presented by the excavator, M. Schaeffer, in the *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 11, 1933, with 20 illustrations.

A *propos* to some of the material given above is the learned article by Père Ronzevalle, "Venus lugens et Adonis Byblius", in *Mélanges* of the University St. Joseph, Beyrouth, 15 (1930-31), 139-204.

Add to bibliography at end of Note to B vi 47-54 the essays edited by S. H. Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, Oxford, 1933; see Index under 'Marriage, sacred'.

Add to Note to B vii 49 ff. The 𐎶𐎶𐎶 can at last be explained from Sidney Smith's discussion of *gigunu* in his "Assyriological Notes", *JRAS* 1928, 884 ff. He demonstrates that the word indicates the bridal chamber at top of ziggurats, such as was first described by Herodotus. Our word is obtained from it by nasal dissimilation. Vir. is accordingly correct in his etymology and Smith supplies the meaning. We thus obtain another reference to the *ἱερὸς γάμος* discussed in a preceding Note. For the first 𐎶 Speiser compares 𐎶𐎶𐎶, CT 4, 39c = Esagila.

## KṢEMENDRA AS *kavi*

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SEVERAL studies have been made of Kṣemendra's Br̥hatkathā-mañjarī and the qualities and defects of that work have been enumerated and to some extent illustrated. Bühler in his article "On the Vṛihatkathā of Kshemendra," *Indian Antiquary*, I (1872), pp. 302-309, remarked: "His style is not so flowing as Somadeva's and in his excessive eagerness for brevity, he sometimes becomes obscure." M. Sylvain Lévi's brilliant monograph, "La Br̥hatkathāmañjarī de Kshemendra," remarks: "S'agit-il de raconter? Kshemendra resserre, résume, élague et substitue à un original vivant, mouvementé, dramatique, une narration sèche et laconique. S'offre-t-il un prétexte à tourner quelques vers descriptifs? Kshemendra s'empresse d'en profiter sans aucun souci des proportions générales."<sup>1</sup> The reason advanced for this procedure, and undoubtedly the correct reason, is that Kṣemendra was a novice in the art of composition at the period when he made this compilation. Later in his literary career, in his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*,<sup>2</sup> Kṣemendra recommended to young poets that they should rework poems which have already had success. This practice he was following when he composed his Br̥hatkathāmañjarī. In consequence he was less concerned than he might have been with producing a smoothly-flowing narrative, but inserted florid descriptions and other specimens of *kāvya* verse which might give him an opportunity both of showing and of consolidating his skill in handling the tools of a *kavi*. Lévi in his article edited the first *lambhaka* of the work and also the introduction and the first two stories of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati as it is presented in the Br̥hatkathāmañjarī. These portions of the text show clearly enough the excessive use of unseasonable ornament of which western scholars complain. Speyer in his "Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara,"<sup>3</sup> since he was able to use the text published by Śivadatta and Parab

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<sup>1</sup> The monograph is in *JA* 1885, ii, pp. 397-479; and 1886, i, pp. 178-222. This quotation is on p. 419 of the first instalment.

<sup>2</sup> Schönberg. *SWA* 1884, p. 484.

<sup>3</sup> *Verhandelingen d. K. Ak. v. Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Lett., N. R.*, viii. 5.

(Kāvya-mālā 60), contributed a further short list of *kāvya* digressions in the work.

It has been universally recognised that both Kṣemendra and Somadeva were abridging a previous work, now lost, the Brhatkathā, and that they worked independently of each other. Lacôte, Hertel, and Edgerton have further made it probable that the original Brhatkathā did not contain the Pañcatantra or the Vetālapañcaviṁśati, but that a later reworking of this original, made possibly in Kashmir, inserted both collections. Whatever the exact facts were, both Kṣemendra and Somadeva contain both collections. The Pañcatantra is notably abbreviated in both versions. It is shorn of its introduction, of several stories, and of most of its moralising matter. Somadeva's version, however, loses nothing in the narrative itself. Kṣemendra, on the other hand, cuts down even this to such an extent that the result is hardly intelligible. Statistics may offer a partial demonstration of this; for the actual text, L. von Mañkowski's *Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Kṣhemendras Brīhatkathāmañjarī* may be referred to. Speyer<sup>4</sup> estimates that the Brhatkathāmañjarī contains in all 7561 ślokaś, the Kathāsaritsāgara 21388; i. e. the former is a little more than a third of the latter. But this proportion does not hold for every section of the works. In some sections Kṣemendra is notably shorter than this proportion would lead us to expect, in others he is longer. This latter state of affairs is true for both the special collections. Somadeva's Pañcatantra consists of 539 ślokaś; Kṣemendra's in Mañkowski's edition has 306, but, since several stories are included which are not found in Somadeva and which should be deducted before a proportion is worked out, the total may be reduced to about 270. The proportion then is almost exactly one to two. The figures for the Vetālapañcaviṁśati are as follows: Somadeva 2195, Kṣemendra 1206 (this figure is based not on the edition but on a text compiled by myself from MS. material). The proportion is .55 +.

In spite of the fact that the proportions for the two special collections are practically identical, the results as seen in the texts are startlingly different. Kṣemendra's Pañcatantra is almost unintelligible and is totally without ornament; his Vetālapañcaviṁśati is intelligible enough, though rather more concise, as compared

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

with Somadeva's, while he uses ornament to a much greater extent than Somadeva. The conclusion may be drawn that the Pañcatantra is notably abbreviated in both versions, and that the Bṛhatkathā in which it was included also contained it in an abbreviated form, which Kṣemendra could not with the best will cut to much less than half. It seems a legitimate conclusion also that this Bṛhatkathā contained the Vetālapaṇcaviṁśati in a full and complete form, and that Somadeva found it attractive enough to give without much abbreviation. Kṣemendra also seized upon it, as he did not upon the Pañcatantra, as a suitable outline which he might clothe in the glowing colors of ornament. That he might have abbreviated it much more than he did may be seen from a further set of statistics. Uhle, in *AKM* VIII, no. 1, pp. 69-92, edited an "anonyme Recension" of the Vetālapaṇcaviṁśati in prose, which he recognised rightly as an abbreviation of Kṣemendra's version. Page 65 of his edition shows 22 *ślokas* to the page. We may estimate then, very roughly, that the "anonyme Recension" if turned into *ślokas* would amount to between 500 and 600 *ślokas*, i. e. about half the length of Kṣemendra's version. Śivadāsa's version, edited in the same publication, if subjected to the same process, would yield about 1300 *ślokas*, and this edition of Śivadāsa contains some interpolated matter.

It can be demonstrated that some of Kṣemendra's ornament was not recklessly inserted by him, but that the Bṛhatkathā already contained at least the germs of it. This will be done by giving both Kṣemendra's and Somadeva's versions of particular passages and pointing out their agreements where their conceits or their actual words are peculiar enough to be significant. Such agreements show that the Bṛhatkathā version which they both used also contained either these features or something very close to them. All the passages are drawn from the Vetālapaṇcaviṁśati; the text given for Kṣemendra sometimes differs from that of the edition since it is based upon MS. material.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> The *editio princeps* of Śivadatta and Parab is very faulty. Their MS. material is and probably will remain unknown. In footnotes they give variant readings which they designate as those of *ka* and *kha*. (When I have occasion to quote these readings, I use K and Kh.) What these sigilla denote is uncertain. In some sections of the edition both are used on the same page; to give an example taken at random, p. 128 gives six *kha*-readings and one *ka*. But such pages are rare; in general *kha* is used

The introductory story of the collection contains the famous description of the cemetery. This has been published already by Lévi,<sup>6</sup> as well as in the *editio princeps*; however, my MSS. yield

throughout a long section, then *ka* in another long section. This is true of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati which is contained in 9. 2. 19-1221 (pp. 289-385). The variants are marked *ka* through p. 341, vs. 675; on p. 342 there are four *kha*'s and one *ka*; from there to p. 385 *kha*, except on p. 367 which has two *kha*'s and one *ka*. This state of affairs seems to denote two MSS. used on no known critical principle. But the University of Pennsylvania has a MS. of the Brhatkathāmañjarī which ends with the Vetālapañcaviṁśati and of which I had the use in collating this portion (I denote its readings by P). It has a commentary in Nepali; date uncertain, perhaps 150 years old. Curiously enough, for the Vetālapañcaviṁśati, it varies from the edition in that, among other differences, its readings are almost invariably those of the editors' footnotes, whether marked by them with *ka* or with *kha*. It is possible that the editors used one MS. in the text and gave the variant readings of one other in the footnotes, using both sigilla to denote the latter. Many of P's readings, however, are mere scribal errors or corruptions.

I have also used India Office Library, Burnell MS. 447, which I denote as G. This is a copy of Tanjore Palace MS. 4880.

Four other MSS. were copied in India for Professor Edgerton of Yale University in 1914. These copies he has kindly put at my disposal. Three of these are copies of Tanjore Palace MSS. Only one of them is marked with the Library number, viz. no. 10218, which I denote by T. The other two, R and S, seem to correspond in the amount of material that they contain with nos. 10219 and 10220, but I am unable to determine which is which. R, S, and T are practically identical with one another in their readings, and may be regarded as one MS. for critical purposes.

The fourth copy, which I call Q, unfortunately cannot even be ascribed to any library, as the only bureau-stamp it bears is illegible. It is practically identical with G in its readings; the two, G and Q, may be used critically as one MS.

Although these MSS. should be supplemented by others for a critical edition, they suffice as sources from which to correct the printed text. The groups RST and QG are close to one another, P represents a somewhat different tradition. Where P agrees with either of the two groups I have adopted the reading thus given. Frequently, however, the corruptions in P have thrown me back on RST and QG, and occasionally a sensible reading seems to be given only in one group or in one MS. Emendation, other than mere correction of *sam̐dhi*, has been resorted to very sparingly.

I quote the Kathāsaritsāgara from the fourth edition (1930) of Durgāprasād and Parab.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, first instalment, pp. 194-195. I need hardly say how much I am indebted to Lévi's translation for the interpretation of this difficult passage.



a version differing somewhat from both, and this purple patch may be given here in full. BKM 9. 2. 40-58a (I number the *śloka*s in my text separately for each story in the collection, with the result that the numbers for passages from the introductory story and story 1 agree with those in Lévi's publication):

tataḥ śmaśānaṁ saṁprāpa niḥśaṅko bhūtasamkulam	
sarvāpāyamaṁ kāyaṁ ivā 'yāsaśatāśrayam	22
mastiṣkaliptaśubhrāsthīprakaraṁ lohitāsavam	
ākṛīḍam iva kālasya kapālacaśakākulam	23
dhūmāṇḍhakāramalināṁ vireṇḍrārāvagarjitam	
cañcaccitāgnitadītaṁ kālamegham ivo 'tthitam	24
grdhrākṛṣṭāntramālābhīḥ kṛtaprālambavibhramam	
kālyā ivo 'tsavonmattakṛttikāṇṛttakampitam	25
jīrṇāsthinalakacchidrakṣīprasāñjānamārutam	
saṁcaradyoginīvṇḍanūpurair iva rāvitam	26
dikṣu pratiphaladghorapheravasphārahūmkṛtam	
trijagatpralayāraṁbhakṛtomkāram ivā 'ntakam	27
maṇḍitaṁ muṇḍakhaṇḍena kaṅkālakulamālinam	
jvalitāṅgāranayanāṁ dvitīyam iva bhairavam	28
pratyagrarudhīrāpūrasaṁpūritavṛkodaram	
kārṇasālyoddhṛtārāvaṁ duḥśāsanavadhākulam	
(saṁcaradbhīmapuruṣaṁ dvitīyam iva bhāratam)	29
bahucchalaṁ dyūtam iva strīcittam iva dāruṇam	
avivekam ivā 'nekaśaṅkātaṅkaniketanam	30
kharotkṛtajanasthānaṁ ghoraśūrpanakhāvṛtam	
daṇḍakāraṇyasadrśaṁ mārīcarucirāntaram	31
bhrāntākampaṇadhūmrākṣameghanāḍavibhīṣaṇam	
laṅkādhāma ivo 'dbhūtaṁ jīvadrāvaṇaviplavam	32
samagraduḥkhaṇilayaṁ bhūtasamghaprahaṛṣaṇam	
bahucchidraṁ ghaṇāśliṣṭapretarāśīnirantaram	33
palāśasatasambādhaṁ citāniḥṣeṣitadrumam	
śivābhīr vyūptam aśivaṁ bhrāntāntakam anantakam	34
niṣkampakucakumbhābhīr vipulaśroṇibhīr muhuḥ	
digambarābhīr nārībhīḥ kalpitoccaṇḍatāṇḍavam	35
grdhragomāyugahanaṁ kākakaṅkakulākulam	
pramattabhūtavetālāśyamelakamālitam	36
piśācadākinījuṣṭaraṭaḍḍamarumaṇḍalam	
spaṣṭātṭahāsamatakaṁ kṛḍaccakreśvarīcayam	37
bhayaṁkaraṁ bhayaśyā 'pi mohasyā 'pi vimohanam	

tamaso 'py andhatamasam kṛtāntasyā 'pi kṛtanam	38
drṣṭvā pitṛvanam ghoram dākinīgaṇasevitam	
kṣāntiśilam vaṭatale so 'paśyat kṛtamaṇḍalam '	39

"Then fearlessly he entered the cemetery which was full of demons. It was like an assemblage of all deaths, the abode of hundreds of troubles. Full of heaps of white bones smeared with brains, it seemed like Death's pleasure-garden where blood was the drink and skulls were the cups. Dusky with the blackness of smoke, thundering with the cries of men, lightening with the leaping fires of funeral-pyres, it seemed like a cloud of death (or, a black cloud) that had arisen. The likeness of a pendant ornament was formed by garlands of vulture-torn entrails. It seemed to be

<sup>1</sup> 22a *saṃprāpa* MSS. Lévi, *sa prāpa* ed. 25a *grḍhrāk°* QRS, *grḍhrak°* GPLévi; *kṛtapr°* MSS. Lévi, *kṛtam pr°* ed. b *°kāṇṛtta°* MSS. Lévi, *°kāmrta°* ed.; *°kampitam* QLévi, *°kampitaḥ* RS. *°kampatim* GPed. 26a *°śiñjāna°* QGRSLévi, *°vijñāna°* ed.; *°chidrasiñjānaghanamārutam* PK. 27a *°kvaṇad°* PK for *°phalad°* QGRSLévi; *°ghora°* MSS. Lévi for *°ghoṣa°* ed.; *°sphārahumkārakumkṛtam* ed. Lévi, *°pheravasphārajamkṛtam* PK, *°pheravasphārahumkṛtam* GRS, *°pheravasthāna°* x x x x Q. 28a *duṣṭakaṇkālāmālitam* ed., *duṣṭakaṇkālāmālitam* Lévi, *kaṇkālākulamālinam* GRS, *kaṇkālākulamālitam* Q, *kapālākulamālinam* P. 29a *°vṛkodaram* MSS. ed., *°mahodaram* KLévi. 29c as found in ed. Lévi is not in RSP (this section is not in T); G has *śikhāṇḍiracitabhṛāntipratyakṣam iva bhāratam*, Q *kauravāyodhanam iva śakunīkrūrābhāṣitam*. Four of Uhle's MSS. of Śivadāsa's version have interpolated this description and include 29c, but omit 29a; it should be noticed that both a and c refer to Bhīma. Vs. 32 which refers to the Rāmāyaṇa does not explicitly mention that work. Though six-pāda verses are not rare in the Brhatkathāmañjarī, yet on the whole the evidence seems to be against 29c. It is possible that it was a gloss introduced into the text in some MSS. 31a *°sarpana°* ed. for *°śūrpaṇa°* MSS. Lévi. b *°rucitā°* ed. Lévi, *°rucirā°* RSPK, *°rudhirā°* G, *°racitā°* Q. 32a *°bhrātā°* Ped., *°bhrāntā°* GSLévi, *°bhrānta°* R; *°bhīṣaṇam* QSPLévi, *°bhūṣaṇam* GRed. 34a *°palāśa°* MSS. ed., *°palāśi°* Lévi; *°citā°* MSS. ed., *°cintā°* Lévi. 35a *°niṣkampā°* QGLévi, *°nikumbha°* Ped., *°niṣkumbha°* S. b *°toccand°* QGS, *°toddand°* Lévi, *°tākāṇḍ°* ed., *°tānṛtyakāṇḍavam* P. 36b *°tālālāsyamelāpamālitam* QGRS, *°tālamālamalakamānikam* P, *°tālavāmamelakamālitam* Lévi, *°tālam mālamalakamālitam* ed. 37a *piśācāḍākinījuṣṭāraṭassamarukodbhaṭam* RS, *piśācāḍākinījuṣṭālasadrumarudambaram* G, *piśācāḍākinījuṣṭam raṭaḍḍamarumaṇḍalam* Q, *piśācāṣākinījuṣṭam laḍaḍḍamarumaṇḍalam* P, *piśācāṣākinīyuktam laḍaḍḍamarumaṇḍalam* ed. Lévi. b *°maṭakam* RSP Lévi, *°makaṭam* Qed. 38a *mohasyāpi vimohanam* GP, *mohasyāpi ca mohanam* RS, *vimohasyāpi mohanam* Qed. Lévi. b *kṛtanam* QGRSP, *kampanam* ed. Lévi.

shaken by the drunken dancing of the Kṛttikās at Kālī's festival. The wind swiftly whistled through the holes in long, decayed bones; the place resounded as if with the noise of the anklets of a rushing troop of witches. With the terrible, loud howling of jackals resounding in all directions, it seemed like the Lord of Death when he has spoken the Word Om at the beginning of the destruction of the three worlds. Adorned with fragments of skulls, encircled with many skeletons, with gleaming coals for eyes, it seemed a second Bhairava (Śiva). The bellies of wolves were (or, Bhīma was) filled there with streams of fresh blood; the tumult that was raised caused pain to the ears (or, Karṇa and Śalya raised a tumult); the place was filled with the punishment of uncontrollable men (or, with the murder of Duṣśāsana). [Agitated with terrible beings (or, with Bhīma's men moving about), it was like another Mahābhārata.] It was filled with delusion, like gambling; full of cruelties, like a woman's heart; the abode of much fear and anxiety, like lack of judgment. It was a place of rough and furious beings and was filled with terrible female-demons (or, it was like Janasthāna filled with thorns, the abode of terrible Śūrpaṇakhā); it was like the Daṇḍaka-forest, the retreats of which are dear to the male-demons (or, to Mārīca). It was terrible because of the thunder which caused the agitated and blinded eyes to tremble (or, Akampana, Dhūmrākṣa, Meghanāda, and Vibhīṣaṇa wandered there); distress caused the living to flee (or, to cry; or, it was the ruin of Rāvaṇa while he lived); it was like a visible burning of Laṅkā. It was an abode of all distress, which caused the troops of demons to rejoice; it had many holes, but the multitude of closely-pressed corpses showed no gaps. It was crowded with hundreds of *palāśa*-trees (or, of *rākṣasas*), and in it trees were totally consumed in funeral-pyres. It was full of jackals (*śivā*) and was inauspicious (*aśiva*, which can also mean "without jackals"); death (*antaka*) roamed there and the place was boundless (*anantaka*, which can also mean "without death"). Naked women with firm swelling breasts and huge hips incessantly performed a violent dance (in the worship of Śiva). The place was the resort of vultures and jackals, it was full of flocks of crows and herons. The assemblies of demons and goblins who danced lasciviously there seemed to encircle the place with garlands. There was a circle of crashing drums beloved of the Piśācas and Dākinīs; corpses laughed clear and loud; innumerable Cakreśvarīs

sported there. The place caused fear itself to be afraid, confused even confusion, was the black darkness even of darkness, cut off (*kr̥ntana*) even death (*kr̥tānta*). When the king had seen that horrible place of the dead, frequented by troops of Dākinīs, he perceived at the foot of the *vaṭa*-tree Kṣāntiśīla who had traced a circle."

KSS 75. 42-44:

yaṃ ca ghoranibīḍadhvāntavṛātamalīmasam	
citānalogranayanajvālādāruṇadarśanam	42
asamkhyanarakaṅkālakapālāsthiviśaṅkaṭam	
hr̥ṣyatsam̐nihitottālabhūtavetālaveṣṭitam	43
bhairavasyā 'param rūpam iva gambhīrabhīṣaṇam	
sphūrjanmahāśivārāvaṃ śmaśānaṃ tad avihvalaḥ	44

"Fearlessly he went to the cemetery. It was like a second form of Bhairava (Śiva), mysteriously terrible, darkened with a dense and terrible pall of night, its aspect horrible with the frightening flames of funeral-pyres, which were Śiva's eyes, encircled with innumerable skeletons, skulls, and bones of men, attended nearby by formidable, rejoicing demons and goblins, with loud, resounding howls of jackals (*śivā*)."

Correspondences between the two passages are the following: (1) the cemetery is compared with Śiva, skulls and skeletons as the ornaments of both being the chief point of comparison (BKM vs. 28); (2) Śiva is called Bhairava; (3) the word for "skeleton" is *kaṅkāla*; (4) there is a pun on *śiva* and *śivā* (BKM vs. 34), which in KSS is somewhat masked by the use of Bhairava for Śiva. It should be pointed out also that in KSS the epithet *sphūrjanmahāśivārāvaṃ* applies aptly only to the cemetery and that in BKM the verse containing the pun is separated by a number of verses from the comparison between the cemetery and Śiva. These details taken separately would not be very impressive, but the fact that the complex occurs in both texts makes it quite certain that the Bṛhatkathā also contained all these details.

With BKM l. c. 62a (Introductory story 43b) we may compare KSS 75. 51a.

BKM: gatvā dadarśa taṃ śuṣkaṃ rūkṣaṃ nīcam ivo  
'ddhatam <sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *rūkṣaṃ* S, *rukṣaṃ* QRP, *vṛkṣaṃ* Ged. Lévi.

“When he had gone there, he saw the tree (*tarum* is in a later verse). It was dried up and *rūkṣa*; lofty (or, arrogant) as a low (mean) man.”

KSS: *tasya skandhe citādhūmadagdhasya kravyagandhinah*

“On the trunk of the tree, which was scorched by the smoke of funeral-pyres and smelt of raw flesh . . .” It seems to me that BKM’s two adjectives *śuṣkām* and *rūkṣām* are parallels to the two epithets in KSS. *śuṣka* and *dagdha* are certainly equivalent in meaning, and *rūkṣa* is defined as “unpleasant, disagreeable to the sight, smell, etc.” Therefore it seems to be capable of bearing much the same meaning as *kravyagandhin*, viz. “foul-smelling.” If so, we may infer that the *Br̥hatkathā* contained something corresponding to these two adjectives.

BKM l. c. 74b, 75a (story 1, vs. 4):

dyutimān vajramukutaṣ tasyām tena suto ’jani  
smarendumādhavā yasya lajjante rūpasampadā

“She bore to him a brilliant son, Vajramukuta, the splendor of whose beauty put to shame the God of Love, the moon, and spring.”

KSS 75. 62:

tasyā ’bhūd vajramukutaṣ tanayo rūpaśauryaḥ  
kurvāṇo darpadalanam smarasyā ’rijanasya ca

“He had a son, Vajramukuta, who destroyed the God of Love’s pride in his beauty and the pride of enemies in their courage.” The *Br̥hatkathā* had the comparison between Vajramukuta and the God of Love (*smara*), and the technique was the same as that seen in both the above verses—“Vajramukuta excelled the God of Love in beauty.” Kṣemendra in rather commonplace fashion added that the moon and spring were excelled in the same quality, while Somadeva rather more artistically added another quality and another group of persons whom Vajramukuta excelled in that quality.

BKM l. c. 186 (story 3, vs. 3):

priyaḥ kṛīḍāśukas tasya babbhūva bhuvī viśrutah  
sarvaśāstreṣu kuśalah kalāsu ca vicakṣaṇah

“He had a pet parrot of which he was fond, which was famous in

the world for its knowledge of all branches of learning and its skill in the arts."

KSS 77. 6:

tatra śāpavatīrṇo 'bhūd divyavijñānavāñ śukah  
vidagdhacūḍāmaṇir ity ākhyayā sarvaśāstravit

"He had a parrot, godlike in its knowledge, learned in all branches of learning, named Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇi, which had been born in that incarnation because of a curse." Kṣemendra has another *śloka* describing the parrot, but of all his various epithets only *sarvaśāstravid*, or some equivalent, could have been in the *Bṛhatkathā*.

BKM l. c. 400 (story 7, vs. 12):

tām candrabimbavadanām vilokya stabakastanīm  
svagṛhaṁ rajako gatvā babhūvā 'naṅgatāpitaḥ \*

"When the washerman had seen her with her face beautiful as the moon's disk and her breasts like clusters of blossoms, he went to his own house tormented by love."

KSS 80. 9:

indor lāvanyahāriṇyā tayā sa hṛtamānasah  
anviṣya tannāmakule kāmārto 'tha gṛhaṁ yayau

"His heart was captivated by that girl who surpassed the moon in beauty, and when he had inquired her name and family, he went home smitten with love." The similarity of other details in these two verses makes it probable that the comparison of the girl with the moon, common though the comparison is in this type of verse, was found in the *Bṛhatkathā*.

BKM l. c. 458 (story 8, vs. 40):

suvarṇavallarīrameye ratnapādapakānane  
sarvartuphalapuṣpāḍhye viśrāntaṁ sā tam abravīt

"As he rested in a grove of jewel-trees, which was pleasant with golden creepers and full of fruits and flowers of all seasons she said to him."

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\* b °vānaṅgatāpitaḥ MSS., °va smarātāpitaḥ ed.

KSS 81. 98:

nityasamṇaddhasarvartu sadāpuṣpaphalādrumam  
meruprṣṭham ivā 'śeṣam nirmitaṁ ratnakāñcanaiḥ

“(The city) had trees that always produced flowers and fruit, for all seasons were always present; like Mount Meru, it was all made of jewels and gold.” The concept of all seasons being present at the same time was found in the Br̥hatkathā, and in much the same language as is found in these two verses.

BKM l. c. 463a (story 8, vs. 45a):

janmamṛtyujarāvyādhivarjitaṁ divyasaurabham

The preceding verse has *sarvasiddhipradam*: “(My two cities) confer all bliss, are free from birth, death, old age, and sickness, and are filled with divine fragrance.”

KSS 81. 101b:

na jarā 'tra na mṛtyuś ca bādhate sarvakāmade

“Neither old age nor death invades them, and they grant all desires.” The two concepts found in KSS as well as in BKM were in the Br̥hatkathā.

BKM l. c. 465 (story 8, vs. 47):

suhṛt pitā suto bandhuḥ svāmī sarvam ayaṁ mama  
kulonnataḥ sattvaśīlas tad asmai tvaṁ mayā 'rpitā

“This Sattvaśīla, of exalted family, is my friend, my father, my son, my relation, my master, my all. So to him I give you.”

KSS 81. 103:

yady evaṁ tat sute hy asmai mayā dattā 'sy anindite  
sattvaśīlāya vīrāya suhṛde bāndhavāya ca

“If this is so, I give you, blameless daughter, to this man, the hero Sattvaśīla, who is my friend and relation.” Sattvaśīla, in fact, was no relation of the speaker's, so that perhaps Kṣemendra represents the original more exactly. In any event the original had this exaggerated statement of the speaker's attachment to Sattvaśīla.

BKM l. c. 493-495 (story 10, vss. 4-6):

dṛṣṭir yuvabhir ānandasmaragarvataramgite  
yatkāntisalile magnā samuddhartuṁ na pāryate

bhrūlāsyavīcitarale hārahaṁsasitormiṇi	
lāvaṇyamānase yasyāḥ kaṭākṣaiḥ śapharāyitam	5
unnidracandravadanām tām vilokya nijālayam	
gato na lebhe sa dhṛtiṁ sārthabhraṣṭa ivā 'dhvagaḥ <sup>10</sup>	6

“Young men could not extricate (or, save) their glances which plunged into the ocean of her beauty, which billowed with the insolence of joy and love. Her charm was like lake Mānasa, rippling with the waves of the dance of her brows, its waves white with the swans of her pearl-necklace; her coquettish glances flickered like silvery śaphara-fish. When he had looked upon her with her face beautiful as the shining moon, he went home bereft of calmness of mind, like a traveller who has lost his caravan.”

KSS 84. 7-8:

sa tām ālokya lāvaṇyarasanirbharanirjharām	
ālakṣyakucakumbhāgrām valitrayataraṁgitām	7
yauvanadviradasye 'va krīḍāmajjanavāpikām	
sadyo 'bhūt smarabāṇaughasaṁtāpahṛtacetanāḥ	8

“When he saw her, who with the full streams of her beauty, the tips of her breasts like pitchers half-revealed, and the three wrinkles of her waist like waves, resembled a lake for the sportive plungings of the elephant of youth, he was at once robbed of his senses by the anguish caused him by the showers of Love's arrows.” The basic comparison of the girl to a body of water was in the Bṛhatkathā; the two texts have dissimilar details, none of which can be referred to the original.

BKM l. c. 497-500 (story 10, vss. 8-11):

atrāntare jalanidhiṁ saṁdhyāraakte divākare	
tāpād iva klāntatanau praviṣṭe padminīpriye	8
dikṣu kālāgarusyandanīlais timirasamcayaiḥ	
abhisārocitaṁ veṣam āśritāsv iva tatḥṣaṇāt	9
udite pūrvadikkāntāsīmantaṁanimauktike	
śaśāṅke śaṁkarapluṣṭakāmasaṁjīvanauṣadhe	10

<sup>10</sup> 4a °garva° RST, °gurvi° Q, °gurvi° G, yuvanirānandasmayagurvi Ped. (This reading of P and the ed. admits of interpretation: “The young man's glance weighed down by melancholy wonder plunged into the billowing ocean of her beauty and could not be extricated.”) b magnāḥ MSS.ed., magnā Hertel (*Studia Indo-iranica, Ehrengabe für Wilhelm Geiger*, p. 94).



jyotsnāvilāsavikāsatprabhāśubhre nabhaḥsthale  
dugdhābhdhiśāyinaḥ śaureḥ sudhālipta ivo 'rasi<sup>11</sup> 11

“Meanwhile the sun, the friend of lotuses, became red at twilight and, as if its body were wearied by heat, sank into the ocean. At that moment masses of darkness, dark as drops of black aloe, were put on by the quarters of the sky as a garment suitable for a rendezvous. The moon rose, the pearl which is the jewel in the headdress of the maiden of the eastern quarter, the elixir which brings to life the God of Love consumed by Śiva's fire. The firmament was white with the gleaming radiance of the moonlight's brilliance and seemed like Viṣṇu's nectar-smeared breast as he lay on the ocean of milk.”

KSS 84. 12-13:

tadadarśanaduḥkhāgnisaṃtāpene 'va ca jvalan  
lohitō nipapātā 'śu bhāsvān apy aparāmbudhau 12  
tām vijñāyai 'va sumukhīm naktam abhyantare gatām  
udiyāya śanaiś candras tanmukhābjavinirjitaḥ 13

“The sun at once sank red into the western ocean, as if inflamed with the fire of grief at seeing her no more. The moon, that was surpassed by the lotus of her countenance, knowing that the fair-faced one had gone in for the night, slowly rose.” The setting of the sun and the rising of the moon are common to the two texts and to be referred to the Bṛhatkathā. Of the details, only the redness of the sun at sunset can be referred to the original and the reason for the redness is dissimilar in the two texts.

BKM l. c. 559 (story 11, vs. 7):

sevyatām lalanābhogaḥ piyatām pāṭalam madhu  
na hy ananto vasanto 'yam vadaṭi 've 'ti kokile<sup>12</sup>

“(In the spring), when the cuckoo seemed to say: ‘Enjoy the love of women, drink red wine, for this spring is not endless.’”

<sup>11</sup> 10b °*pluṣṭa*° MSS., °*klpta*° ed.; °*kāma*° QGed., °*smara*° RST; °*śadhe*° QGRST, °*śadham* ed.; °*pluṣṭasaṃjīvanamahōśadhau* P. 11a °*vilāsa*° QGed., °*vikāsa*° RS, °*vibhāsa*° T, °*prakāsa*° P; °*vikasat*° RTP, °*vilasat*° QGSed.; °*sthale*° QGRT, °*stale*° SPed. b °*śauraiḥ*° QGRSTed., °*śaurah*° P; °*ivor*° MSS., °*ivaur*° ed.

<sup>12</sup> a °*pāṭalam* G, °*pātalam* other MSS. and ed.

KSS 85. 8:

śṛṇvaṁś ca taddrumāgrasthakokilodīritām giram  
saṁbhogaikarasasyā ”jñām iva mānasajanmanah

“Hearing the note uttered by the cuckoos which sat on the tree-tops in that garden, like the edict of the God of Love who is wholly pleased by enjoyment.” This accompaniment of the spring-season was contained in some form in the *Bṛhatkathā*; Kṣemendra seems to have expanded the purport of the cuckoo’s song.

BKM l. c. 575-576 (story 11, vss. 23-24):

niḥśabdajanasaṁcāre kuto ’pi musaladhvanim	
śrutvai ’va saṁjātakiṇau dhūnvānā karapallavau	23
daṣṭāv ive ’tya madhupair utphullakamalāśayā	
hā hatā ’smī ’ti cukrośa tārasītkāraśālinī <sup>13</sup>	24

“As people went about silently she merely heard the noise made by a pestle and her blossomlike hands became covered with bruises as if they were bitten by bees which had come to them thinking them open blossoms. She shook her hands and in a shrill cry of pain lamented: ‘Alas! I am hurt!’”

KSS 85. 26:

dadarśa tatra tasyāś ca cinvan sāśruḥ paricchadaḥ  
ālīnabhramarau padmāv iva hastau kiṇāṅkitau

“When her weeping attendants examined her, they saw that her hands were covered with bruises and looked like lotuses upon which bees had settled.” The bees were in the original; Kṣemendra has rather ineptly compared the black bruises not to the bees but to stings.

BKM l. c. 621 (story 12, vs. 41):

ukṭve ’ti cikṣepa nṛpaḥ sahasā salile tanum  
smaradāvāgninirvāṇādhiye ’vā ”hitasāhasaḥ

“When he had said this, the king suddenly threw himself into the sea, committing the rash act as if he thought to quench the forest-fire of love.”

<sup>13</sup> 23a *musa*° QGRST, *muśa*° Ped. b *śrutvaiva* RTP, *śrutveti* G, *śrutvāpi* Q, *śrutvā ca* S, *śrutvā tadā jātakiṇau* ed.; *dhūnv*° QGRST, *dhunv*° Ped. 24a *daṣṭa ivetya* ed., *daṣṭāvijitya* P.

KSS 86. 85:

tad dr̥ṣṭvai 'vā 'numāрге 'syāḥ sa rājā 'tmānam akṣīpat  
vāridhāv atra kāmāgnisaṁtāpasye 'va śāntaye

"The moment the king saw this, he threw himself into the sea after her, as if to cool the flames of love's fire."

BKM l. c. 693-696 (story 14, vss. 6-9):

tatas tamasi so 'paśyac cauram tālam ivo 'nnatam	
niḥśabdalaghusaṁcāram kva cit pārśvavilokinam	6
kva cid vidhṛtaniḥśvāsam kva cid vakrīkṛtākṛtim	
yakṣmānam iva tṛṣṇādhyaṁ durbhikṣam iva duḥsaham	7
viyogam iva socchvāsam kalpāntam iva dāhinam	
sarvasvāpaharam ghoram kṣapāntam iva viplutam	8
saṁdhicchedeṣu kuśalam pracchannam iva durjanam	
vilokya tam nṛpo 'prechat svairam viśvāsaghātakam	14 9

"Then in the darkness he saw a thief. He was lofty as a palm-tree. He went with light, noiseless step and now looked to all sides, now held his breath, now bent his body. He was like consumption which causes thirst, like unendurable famine, like the sighing separation of lovers, like the burning dissolution of the world. Terrible, he caused loss of all sleep (or, he stole everything), like a troubled dawn. He seemed like a secret scoundrel, clever in making breaches in walls. When the king saw him, he cautiously asked the traitor."

KSS 88. 15-16:

ekākī cā 'ttaśastro 'tra bhraman so 'paśyaḍ ekataḥ	
ekam prākārapṛṣṭhena yāntam kam api pūruṣam	15
niḥśabdapadavinyāsavicitragatikauśalam	
saśaṅkalolanayanam paśyantam pṛṣṭhato muhuḥ	16

"As he wandered about alone and armed, he saw in one place a man going along alone on the rampart. He was wonderfully dexterous in his movements as he placed his feet noiselessly; he looked behind him repeatedly with anxiously rolling eyes." Kṣemendra's

<sup>14</sup> 6a *tamasi* MSS., *tam api* ed. b *'laghu'* MSS., *'jana'* ed. 7a *vidhṛtaniḥśvāsam* G, *ca dhṛtaniḥśvāsam* Q, *vidhṛtiniḥśvāsam* RST, *dhṛtaviniḥśvāsam* P, *niḥdhṛtaniḥśvāsam* ed.; *'kṛtākṛtim* RSTPed., *'kṛtātmakam* QG. b *durbhikṣam* MSS., *dāvāgnim* ed. 8b *kṣapāntam* QGRST, *kalpāntam* ed., *kṣapāsaṁcaranam* priyam P. 9b *'prechat* MSS., *'vādīt* ed.

6b and Somadeva's 16 are almost identical in content and represent the original; the three *śloka*s which follow in Kṣemendra are his own addition.

BKM l. c. 893 (story 16, vs. 129):

na nāmaśaṅkhaḍhavalāṁ śaṅkhaḍhavalāṁ mahākulam  
mayā 'pi śaṅkhaḍhavalāṁ sattvabhāṅgāt kalaṅkyate <sup>15</sup>

"The great family, whose protector is Śaṅkha, is white with the shells (*śaṅkha*) in its names. I, Śaṅkhaḍha, must not stain it by causing the downfall of its virtue."

KSS 90. 141:

na cā 'haṁ malinīkartuṁ śaṅkhaḍhavalakulam śuci  
kalaṅka iva tikṣṇāṅśubimbaṁ śakṣyāmi sanmate

"I cannot, oh noble man, defile the pure race of Śaṅkhaḍha, as a spot defiles the disk of the moon." Kṣemendra seems to have introduced the frigid pun on the word *śaṅkha*.

BKM l. c. 895-898 (story 16, vss. 131-134):

uktve 'ti mātṛā 'nugate yāte tasmin kṣaṇād abhūt	
uccaṇḍākāṇḍakalpāntavātavyākulitaṁ jagat	131
kāladordaṇḍaṣaṇḍābhāspastāghaṭṭitadiktatāḥ	
uttasthur makarotphālakarālāḥ sāgarormayah	132
tataś caṇḍāṅśutaptasya sumeror iva raśmibhiḥ	
abhūd aurvāṇalene 'va pūritaṁ piṇjaraṁ nabhaḥ	133
āgataṁ garuḍaṁ jñātvā sūcitaṁ pakṣamārutaiḥ	
āruroha sadāvadhyaśilāṁ jīmūtavāhanaḥ <sup>16</sup>	134

"After he had said this, he went off followed by his mother. At once the world was filled with the terrible, unexpected wind of the end of the world. The waves of the sea arose, terrible with the leaping of *makara*-monsters, and the horizon was clearly touched by the likeness of a multitude of black arms (or, the breasts of the sky-maidens were clearly touched by the likeness of a multitude

<sup>15</sup> a *śaṅkhaḍhavalāṁ* Q. It is possible that we should read *\*pāla*, i. e. "the great race of *śaṅkhaḍha*."

<sup>16</sup> 132a *\*ṣaṇḍā*° QGRST, *\*śaṅkhā*° Ped.; *\*spaṣṭā*° QGP, *\*spaṣṭa*° RST, *\*śchaṭā*° ed.; *\*ghaṭṭi*° RST, *\*ghaṭi*° QGPed. b *\*otphāla*° RST, *\*otplāva*° QG, *\*otsphullāḥ* P, *\*āsphāra*° ed. 134b *sadāvadhyaśilāṁ* P, *sadāśailavindhyam* RS, *sadāvindhyaśaila* T, *mudāvindhyaśilāṁ* Q, *mudāvadhyaśilāṁ* G, *madābaddhaḥ śilāṁ* ed.

of Kāla's arms). The sky became ruddy as if filled by the submarine fire or by the rays of Mount Meru heated by the sun. When Jīmūtavāhana saw that Garuḍa had come, knowing it by the breezes made by his wings, he mounted the rock where the snakes were always killed."

KSS 90. 147-149:

tāvac cā "sannapakṣīndrapakṣānilacalāṅs tarūn	
vilokyā 'tra sa mā me 'ti nivāraṇaparān iva	147
matvā garuḍavelām ca prāptām jīmūtavāhanah	
parārthapraṇado vadhyāśilām adhyāruha tām	148
pavanāghūrṇite cā 'bdhau sphuradratnaprabhāḍṛṣā	
tām sattvātīśayaṁ tasya paśyatī 'va savismayam	149

"Meanwhile he saw the trees swaying in the wind of the wings of approaching lord of the birds, and seeming to be intent upon uttering cries of dissuasion. He thought that the moment of Garuḍa's arrival was at hand, and, giving up his life for another, mounted upon the rock of sacrifice. The sea, churned by the wind, seemed with the eyes of its bright-flashing jewels to be gazing in astonishment at his extraordinary courage." The original had some description of the wind caused by the bird's wings and of its effect upon the sea.

BKM l. c. 1044 (story 19, vs. 32):

tataḥ kālena sā putram asūta ravivarcasam  
kuntī 'va karṇam saṃpūrṇarājalakṣaṇalakṣitam <sup>17</sup>

"Then in the course of time she bore a son marked with all the signs of a king, splendid as the sun, as Kuntī bore Karṇa." (Karṇa was the son of Sūrya, the sun; hence the epithet *ravivarcas*. Perhaps also *putram asūta* plays on Karṇa's name *Sūtaputra*.)

KSS 93. 47:

sā 'pi tasmād dhanavatī sagarbhā 'bhūd vaṇiksutā  
kāle ca suṣuve putram lakṣaṇānumitāyatim

"Dhanavatī, the merchant's daughter, became pregnant by him, and in the course of time bore a son, whose future could be inferred from his auspicious marks." Kṣemendra bethought himself of the similar circumstances of Karṇa's birth and introduced a simile and

<sup>17</sup> b *karṇam* QGRSP, *varṇa* Ted.

puns, where the original referred only to the auspicious marks of royalty (*lakṣaṇa*).

BKM l. c. 1073 (story 20, vs. 8) :

tām vikṣya manmathaśarāsāravyākulito 'bhavat  
dattaśāpa ivā 'nekaśāyakābhihatair mṛgaiḥ <sup>18</sup>

“When he saw her, he was agitated by Love’s shower of arrows, as if he had been cursed by the deer which his multitude of arrows had struck.”

KSS 94. 21a :

acintayac ca puṣpeṣoḥ patitaḥ śaragocare

“And he, having now fallen within the range of the Love-god’s arrows, reflected.” The Love-god’s arrows were in the Bṛhatkathā; Kṣemendra has characteristically enlarged on the figure.

This selection of the *kāvya*-passages in one portion of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, incomplete as the list is, sufficiently illustrates my contention that Kṣemendra at times found in his original the model, or at least the suggestion, for the figures which he elaborated. But in general it is clear enough that his method of handling the *kāvya*-portions of the work was the direct opposite of that which he adopted in the more strictly narrative portions. In the latter he condensed (as could be demonstrated well enough by a comparison of Kṣemendra and Somadeva in these portions), in the former he expanded. The large number of ornamental passages for which Somadeva has no equivalents shows further that Kṣemendra’s chief interest was *kāvya*, while Somadeva’s was narrative.

The story of Madanasundarī, who exchanged the heads of her husband and her brother (Kṣemendra’s story 7, Somadeva’s 6), is instructive. Somadeva tells the story in 54 verses; of these all are narrative verses with sufficient ornament to relieve any severity that might inhere in strict narrative. Only six *pādas* might be excised without harm to the narrative; these form a *devatāstuti*. Kṣemendra, on the other hand, tells the story in 30 verses, of which 11 are pure ornament and might be omitted without any loss to the narrative. Three of these *ślokas* are a *deva*-

<sup>18</sup> a °śarāsāravyākulitobhavat QRST, °śarasūhasavyākulobhavat P, śaravyākulīkṛtacetanāḥ ed.

*tāstuti* corresponding to Somadeva's one and a half *śloka*s. The remaining eight *kāvya*-verses have no counterpart in Somadeva. Seven of them may be given here as examples of the pearls which he embroiders on the shoddy of his work. Four of them are a description of women bathing in a lake (BKM l. c. 392-395; story 7, vss. 4-7):

snāntinām vaktrapadmaś ca dormṛṇālavanais tathā	
tāsām bhrūvicijālaiś ca punaruktam abhūt saraḥ	4
varāṅganānām kucayoḥ śaśaplutanakhavraṇaḥ	
svacchapheṇāvaliciraiḥ prītyā 'bandhī 'va vāriṇā	5
snānadhautāñjanasitā tāsām dṛṣṭir vyarocata	
niṣkrṣṭakālakūṭāṅśā caṭule 'vā 'mṛtacchaṭā	6
snātotthitā vāridhārāhāribhis tāḥ stanair babhuḥ	
dṛṣṭāgrabhisasūtrāsyaiś cakravākair ivā 'ṅkitāḥ <sup>19</sup>	7

"The lake was duplicated as they bathed by the lotuses of their faces, the groves of lotus-fibres which were their arms, and the multitude of waves which were their brows. Finger-nail scratches like 'the leaps of a hare' on the beautiful women's breasts were lovingly bound up, as it were, by the water with bandages made of rows of clear foam.<sup>20</sup> Their eyes shone forth white when the collyrium had been washed off in bathing, like the trembling mass of nectar when the portion of black poison had been extracted from it.<sup>21</sup> When they had bathed and stood forth, with their breasts bearing torrents of water, they seemed as if adorned with *cakravāka*-birds in whose mouths were lotus-fibres with only the tips visible."

The other three, describing Madanasundarī who was a girl of the *rajaka*-caste, with their high-flown language seem to have been composed with humorous intent (BKM l. c. 397-399; story 7, vss. 9-11):

<sup>19</sup> 4a *snāntinām* QRST. *snātinām* G, *nāriṇām* P, *tām nītām* ed.; °*mṛṇālav*° RSTP, °*mṛṇālir*° QGed. b *bhrū*° MSS., *bhū*° ed. 5a *śaśapl*° QP, other MSS. illegible. *sasāmpl*° ed.; °*vraṇaḥ*° QGST, °*vraṇāḥ*° Ped. b *prītyābandhiva* QGRST. *prītyerābandhi* Ped. 6a *snātadh*° ST. b °*ṭāṅśā* QRS, °*ṭāśā* GTPed.; °*levām*° MSS., °*laivām*° ed. 7a *snāto*° RSTPed., *snāno*° QG.

<sup>20</sup> The various forms of erotic scratching, including the *śaśapluta*(ka), are described in the Hindu handbooks of *kāma*. Penzer has a note on the subject in *The Ocean of Story* 5, pp. 193-195.

<sup>21</sup> Nectar and the poison *kālakūṭa* were among the products of the churning of the ocean.

snātvā bāhulatākṣepataralotsarpibhir muhuḥ	
yasyā lāvanyasalilaiḥ prakṣālitam ivā 'mbaram	9
kaṭākṣaśapharotphālā yā vibhramataramgitā	
rajakānām iva gr̥he jātā mūrtimatī nadī	10
muhur līlāsmītasmeracchāyāvyañjair dideśa yā	
yātrotsave janasye 'va dhautacīnapaṭāvalīm <sup>22</sup>	11

“As she bathed the sky seemed to be repeatedly washed by the oceans of her charm, which mounted up in waves because of the tossing of her creeper-like arms. Her amorous glances like the leaping of fish and her wave-like coquettish movements made her seem like a river born in human form in the house of the washer-men. She seemed to display again and again a row of shining silken cloths in the people's festival procession by her sportively smiling laugh which counterfeited their color.”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> 9a °*taralotsarpibhir* QGRST, °*taralotkṣepitair* ed., °*salilotsarpibhir* P.  
 10a °*otphālā* ed., °*otphullā* Q, °*otplāvā* G, °*āstūrā* P, °*kṣapūtaśapharā* RST.  
 11b °*cīna*° RST, °*vīra*° P, °*pīta*° ed., °*dhautāñjana*° G, °*yautācchanna*° Q.

<sup>23</sup> In *kāvya* the convention is that a smile is white.



## K'UEI CHI'S COMMENTARY ON WEI-SHIH-ER-SHIH-LUN<sup>1</sup>

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THE VALUE attaching to K'uei Chi's commentary on the translation by his master Hsüan Chuang of Vasubandhu's *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, *Vimśatikā*,<sup>2</sup> is that it shows us how that work was understood in China at the time when the Wei Shih (唯識) or *Vijñaptimātra* system of Buddhist philosophy was put into its best form for Chinese study. In my paper on "Hsüan Chuang and the Wei Shih Philosophy"<sup>3</sup> I have shown how the noted pilgrim-translator gained his knowledge from the living masters of this philosophy in the India of his day. After his return to China Hsüan Chuang, engaged in the exacting task of translating the many manuscripts brought from abroad, had the organized assistance of numerous scholars and disciples. But he chose K'uei Chi in particular to receive his explanations of Vasubandhu's thought while the translations from that philosopher were in progress. This precious material, delivered first as oral instruction, was written down by K'uei Chi and compiled by him into two noteworthy works, the *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun-shu-chi*<sup>4</sup> and the *Wei-shih-er-shih-lun-shu-chi*. Full account has been taken of the former in La Vallée Poussin's recent translation of the *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun*.<sup>5</sup> To make some observations concerning the latter is the object of the present paper which is based upon an examination of the first half of this commentary undertaken in connection with a detailed study of the *Wei-shih-er-shih-lun* itself.

The whole commentary is divided into four sections (卷), two in a first volume of 110 pages and two in the second of 146 pages, making in all a work of 256 pages (Western count) as published

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<sup>1</sup>唯識二十論述記, 唐京兆大慈恩寺翻經沙門窺基撰.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Sylvain Lévi in 1925 in the Bibliothèque de L'Ecole des Hautes Études (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion).

<sup>3</sup> JAOS., 51. 291-308.

<sup>4</sup>成唯識論述記.

<sup>5</sup> *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi: La Siddhi de Hiuan-Tsang* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929).

by the Kiangsi Buddhist Publishing House.<sup>6</sup> As K'uei Chi's commentaries form no part of the Chinese Tripitaka they must be read in independent editions.

Chinese translations of Vasubandhu's *Vimśatikā* had been attempted earlier by the Indian Buddhist monks Prajñāruci and Paramārtha in the Wei (魏)<sup>7</sup> and Ch'en (陳)<sup>7</sup> dynasties respectively. The circumstances under which Hsüan Chuang now made a new and authoritative one in the T'ang (唐) are set forth by K'uei Chi in an instructive introductory passage. Three Sanskrit texts were at hand, it seems, though they are not specifically described.<sup>8</sup> Comparing these and looking over the former translations Hsüan Chuang found many deficiencies in the work of his Indian predecessors. "He knew these could not defend the profound doctrine (of the treatise)," says K'uei Chi, "the meanings being mostly deficient and erroneous, the tones (聲) not being sensed clearly, and the phrases redundant and vulgar, not in one passage only but in many, the detailed indication of which would be burdensome."<sup>9</sup> This accounts for the fact that "from the beginning (these translations) have been read rather than studied even by thorough scholars."<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, "On the first day of the sixth moon in the year Hsing-yu (辛酉), the first year of the Lung-so (龍朔) reign in the Great T'ang Dynasty,<sup>11</sup> at the Yü-hua-ch'ing-fu Hall (玉花慶福殿), this treatise began again to be translated. I, K'uei Chi, received the meaning and wrote it down.<sup>12</sup> On the eighth day of the month the work in all its detail was finished. Deletions had been made, the whole put in order, faulty places repaired and deficiencies made good. When we looked over the new book it closely resembled Vasubandhu's."

Hsüan Chuang's personal part in this task, namely dictating the translation and expounding the ideas to K'uei Chi, was limited

<sup>6</sup> Kiangsi K'ê-ching-ch'ü (江西刻經處).

<sup>7</sup> Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Nos. 1238 and 1239.

<sup>8</sup> In comment connected with the seventh gāthā it is said 勘三梵本: "comparing three Sanskrit texts."

<sup>9</sup> 知其莫閑奧埋義多垂決謬不悟聲明。詞甚繁鄙非只一條難具陳述。

<sup>10</sup> 自古通學閑而靡究。

<sup>11</sup> I. e., A. D. 661.

<sup>12</sup> Literally, "received the meaning, grasping the pen" (受旨執筆).

to the seven or eight days mentioned. This had important results for the disciple. "My master did not regard me as stupid"<sup>13</sup> K'uei Chi remarks with pardonable pride, "he commissioned me to make manifest his meaning. While the translating was going on, I received his explanations and out of them compiled a commentary." The responsibility was not, however, without its difficulties. K'uei Chi confesses that he did not understand everything which his honored teacher passed on to him. The time was too short to get everything straightened out. "When we came to meanings distorted and confused," he says, "and to expressions of remote reference, we let the meanings go until I could get more instruction and interpret them at some later time. But," he adds in eloquent lament, "before the task was finished, the instruction ended, so that the mysterious source was interrupted and flowed no longer; the deep soul (of the meaning) remains in the dark forever hidden."<sup>14</sup> We may say that the precious pearl is easily entrusted, but insight into the treasury of the law is difficult. (What now remains) is superficial in meaning and diffuse in style!"

These words of K'uei Chi warn us that we may not expect to obtain Hsüan Chuang's final understanding of the *Wei-shih-er-shih-lun* from the commentary, even though it is compiled of the master's own utterances. Had the latter been able to give more time to instructing K'uei Chi on the interpretation, it would have been a more satisfactory performance from the disciple's point of view. It is to be regretted, indeed, that Hsüan Chuang could not have composed his own commentary on the translation. But there were reasons. When we consult Hui-li's Biography of Hsüan Chuang<sup>15</sup> we find that from the fifth year of Hsien Ch'ing (顯慶) to the third year of Lung So (龍朔), i. e., A. D. 660-663,<sup>16</sup> Hsüan Chuang was primarily occupied with the translation of the vast scriptures of the Prajñā Pāramitā, the *Ta-pan-j'o-po-lo-mi-to-ching*,<sup>17</sup> the ślokas alone of which number two hundred thou-

<sup>13</sup> 我師不以庸愚命旌厥趣。

<sup>14</sup> This sounds like a quotation, but I have not been able to trace it.

玄源見擁而無拔。幽靈守昏而永翳。

<sup>15</sup> 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳。慧立本釋彥棕箋。 Nanjio, No. 1494.

<sup>16</sup> Really almost a four-year period from the beginning of A. D. 660 until the latter part of 663.

<sup>17</sup> 大般若波羅蜜多經 Nanjio, No. 1.

sand. John Estlin Carpenter has remarked that "The labours of Jerome in his cell at Bethlehem on the Latin rendering of the Hebrew of the Old Testament were child's play compared with Hsüan Chuang's task in producing this version," which is really "a group of works estimated at twenty-five times the length of the whole Bible."<sup>18</sup> As the eight days spent on the *Wei-shih-er-shih-lun* occurred in A. D. 661, which was the second year of the greater enterprise, we can readily understand why Hsüan Chuang had no more time to devote to the exposition of the treatise. It is further probable that Hsüan Chuang, having already in A. D. 659 translated the greater Wei Shih treatise, the *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun* (成唯識論),<sup>19</sup> in which the arguments of the system are set forth exhaustively, felt less necessity to expand the *Wei-shih-er-shih-lun*, which is really an elementary treatise, into greater detail. Indeed it is evident from the numerous references to the *Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun* in the commentary before us that Hsüan Chuang's exposition of the ideas in the smaller treatise drew upon the detail already worked out in the larger one. These considerations are sufficient to justify both the limited time spent on the translation of the *Wei-shih-er-shih-lun* and his leaving it to K'uei Chi to assemble and organize the material of the commentary by himself.

So much for the circumstances surrounding the composition of K'uei Chi's Commentary on the *Wei-shih-er-shih-lun*. They were not ideal, perhaps, but we may not think, because the disciple laments his humble ability for the task, that he has not left us a valuable work. When we advance into the body of the commentary we find that he has arranged his material with meticulous care, finding something to say for almost every word and every phrase of the text. He tells us that Vasubandhu wrote the *Vimśatikā* first and the *Trimśikā* second, a bit of information which I have not encountered elsewhere. He does not cite evidence for the statement, so we are unable to tell whether it is a valid tradition transmitted from India or an inference by Hsüan Chuang from the character of the literature. If it is true then we are closer to Vasubandhu's original formulation of his idealism in the *Vimśatikā* than in the *Trimśikā*. K'uei Chi further points out that the *Vimśatikā* has Vasubandhu's own comment added to the twenty

<sup>18</sup> *Buddhism and Christianity*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>19</sup> Nanjio, No. 1197.

verses, whereas the *Trīmśikā*, although more advanced technically, consists of verses only, comments having been added by others. He reminds us further that the purpose of the *Vimśatikā* is to meet the objections of outsiders, a fact which makes it useful for a first study of the doctrine.

In the *Large Buddhist Encyclopedia*<sup>20</sup> edited by Ting Fu-pao (丁福保) we are informed that K'uei Chi learned five Indian languages. Our present commentary bears evidence of his knowledge of Sanskrit only. In making definite reference to Sanskrit terms K'uei Chi usually transliterates into Chinese sounds before giving their meaning. I have not gone into the question of the pronunciation of Chinese words at the T'ang Dynasty capital in Hsüan Chuang's time. It is possible that a careful study of the question would reveal a closer agreement with the Sanskrit sounds than we are able to detect in our pronunciations today. Examples of K'uei Chi's usage are as follows:

Sanskrit	Transliteration.	Meaning.
<i>vijñapti</i>	毗若底: <i>p'i-jo-ti</i>	識; <i>shih</i>
<i>mātratā</i>	摩咀刺多; <i>mo-chü-la-to</i>	唯; <i>wei</i>
<i>vimśatikā</i>	憑始迦: <i>p'ing-shih-chia</i>	二十; <i>er shih</i>
<i>śāstra</i>	奢薩咀羅; <i>she-sa-chü-lo</i>	論; <i>lun</i>
<i>svapnavat</i>	伊縛筏; <i>sun-chüan-fa</i>	如夢; <i>ju meng</i>
<i>pudgala</i>	補特伽羅; <i>pu-t'e-chia-lo</i>	數取趣; <i>su-ch'ü-ch'ü</i>

Throughout the commentary there is constant reference to other schools of Buddhistic thought whose arguments Vasubandhu's verses are meant to refute. The original Sanskrit text of Vasubandhu makes explicit mention of the *Vaiśeṣikas* and *Vaibhāṣikas* only; and that reference is limited to the passage refuting both the atomic and the unitary concepts of the structure of an external universe.<sup>21</sup> But K'uei Chi's commentary traces every refuted position to its origin in specific schools or, in a few cases, to the naïve notions of the man on the street. In the first half of the commentary we find mention of specific schools together with their positions on certain questions as follows:

<sup>20</sup> 佛學大辭典. p. 2668 中.

<sup>21</sup> See Sylvain Lévi's edition of *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, 1925. P. 6, third line from bottom; and p. 7, tenth line from the top.

1. Sarvāstivādin (薩婆多): Outer objects exist as well as mind.<sup>22</sup>
2. Sūnya(tā)vādin (空見外道): Inner mind as well as objects do not exist.
3. Sautrāntikas (經量部): Apart from mind there are no distinct mental activities.
4. Mahāsaṅghikas (大衆部): Infernal guards etc. are true sentient beings.
5. Vaiśeṣikas (吠世師迦 or 勝論者): The substance of outer objects is one thing.
6. Sammatīyas (正量部):
7. Vaibhāṣikas (毗婆沙師): There is no combining together of several atoms.
8. Vātsīputrīyas (犢子部): Same contention as Mahāsaṅghikas above.

In method of exposition the commentary draws abundantly upon other Buddhist literature containing the doctrines of the Wei Shih School. Quotations and references occur frequently. In the first half of the work there is a full dozen of sūtras and śāstras which are made to yield their contribution. Listed in the order of their appearance in Nanjio's catalog they are as follows.

1. Hua-yen-ching (華嚴經):  
Avatamsakasūtra. Nanjio No. 87
2. Leng-ch'ieh-ching (楞伽經):  
Laṅkāvatārasūtra. " No. 175-6

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<sup>22</sup> Cf. the following for the several schools:

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|------------|-------------|
| 1. 外境如心是有  | 5. 外境體是一物   |
| 2. 內心如境是無  | 6. 境多念心唯一剎那 |
| 3. 離心無別心所  | 7. 非諸極微有相合義 |
| 4. 獄卒等是實有情 |             |

The many references to other schools show that in Hsüan Chuang's time traditional memories of a rich intellectual environment in which the *Vimśatikā* arose were still preserved. The Sanskrit text itself, taking this for granted, does not stop to specify the opponents, and consequently leaves us unenlightened.

3. Chieh-shen-mi-ching (解深密經):  
Sandhinirmocanasūtra. “ No. 247
4. She-ta-sheng-lun-shih (攝大乘論釋):  
Mahāyānasamparigraha-śāstra-vyākhyā. “ No. 1171
5. Kuan-so-yüan-yüan-lun (觀所緣緣論):  
Ālambanapratyayadhyānaśāstra. “ No. 1173
6. She-ta-sheng-lun (攝大乘論):  
Mahāyānasamparigrahaśāstra. “ No. 1183
7. Shih-ti-ching-lun (十地經論);  
Daśabhūmikasūtra-śāstra. “ No. 1194
8. Fu-ti-ching-lun (佛地經論):  
Buddhabhūmisūtra-śāstra. “ No. 1195
9. Ch'eng-wei-shih-lun (成唯識論):  
Vijñaptimātratāsiddhiśāstra. “ No. 1197
10. Pien-chung-pien-lun (辨中邊論):  
Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra. “ No. 1244
11. Pien-chung-pien-lun-sung (辨中邊論頌):  
Madhyāntavibhāgaśāstra (verses). “ No. 1245
12. Chü-she-lun (俱舍論):  
Abhidharmakośaśāstra. “ No. 1267

In addition to the citation of these scriptures, the method of commentarial exposition further employs analysis of the arguments with the tools of technical logic. In connection with the explanation of the first sentence of the treatise, K'uei Chi quotes from the Nyāyamukha of the logician Dignāga and thereafter makes use of such terms as the following in quite the technical sense of that treatise as translated by Hsüan Chuang.<sup>23</sup>

Neng-li-neng-p'ò (能立能破): proof and refutation.

Tsung (宗): proposition.

Li-tsung (立宗): to formulate a proposition (lay down a proposition).

Kuo-shih (過失): fallacy.

Hsien-liang (現量): evidence of direct perception.

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<sup>23</sup> 因明正理門論本 Nanjio, No. 1224. This work has been recently translated into English by Giuseppe Tucci in the *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, 15 Heft, Heidelberg, 1930.

Pi-liang (比量): inference.

Li-liang (立量): to prove, or establish proof.

Liang-yün (量云): logically speaking, speaking in terms of proof etc.

We cannot say that K'uei Chi's commentary adds directly to our knowledge of Buddhist formal logic. But it can be instructive as showing concretely how the Chinese debaters conceived of its method in the process of actual argumentation. It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter discussion concerning the subject matter of the *Wei-shih-er-shih-lun* as handled by K'uei Chi. Results of that study will be set forth more appropriately in the presentation of an English translation of the *Wei-shih-er-shih-lun* itself.



## THE MANDAIC GOD PTAHIL

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ONE OF THE most interesting figures of the Mandaic pantheon is that of the god Ptahil. Interest attaches to him readily because of his prominence in the bulky volumes of the Mandaean texts, and because of the uncertainty which still exists to-day with regard to the interpretation of his person and his origin. Since the days when western scholars first began to concern themselves with the Mandaean traditions, one thing has continually been evident about Ptahil, namely that he is the Mandaic demiurge, the creator of the present cosmos. Two questions, upon the answer to which the final interpretation of his person and his origin depends, have, however, never been satisfactorily answered. These questions are: (1) Is Ptahil, like the demiurges of other syncretistic faiths, essentially an "evil deity"? (2) What is the etymology and the meaning of his name, and what light has the name to shed upon the problem of his origin and identity?

These two questions have in the past received a disturbing variety of answers. Wilhelm Brandt evolved the conception that Ptahil was originally an evil power, which, under the influence of developing monotheism, was gradually freed of its dualistic associations and identified with a beneficent creative agent (Gabriel Sh'liḥa), until there remained of its older evil self only the name proper to it at the beginning.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, Karl Kessler insists: "Dieses ist ursprünglich gewiss ein guter Gott, aber da die alte mandäische Spekulation die Weltschöpfung bald als ein Werk der guten, bald als eines der bösen Gewalten ersieht, so schwankt sein Charakterbild jetzt in der Geschichte".<sup>2</sup> The two views are evidently mutually exclusive.

With respect to the name Ptahil, a similar diversity of opinion exists. Since the days of Norberg, whose etymological enterprises were for the most part exceedingly unhappy, and up to the days of

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<sup>1</sup> *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 35-37, 49-55.

<sup>2</sup> *Protestantische Realencyklopädie*, 3 ed., article: Mandäer, vol. XII, 1903, p. 166, 51-54.

Kessler, the name was interpreted as one of simple Aramaic origin, composed of the two elements פתחא and על, and signifying "God opened".<sup>3</sup> This etymology, simple as it is satisfying, meets with one difficulty, that of explaining why a creative agent of the evil or good order should be called "God opened", in other words what may be the relation of the deity's name to its character and function. Now it is of course well known that in the Mandaic dialect the verb פתחא = פתח signifies "create".<sup>4</sup> The name might thus with equal propriety signify "God creates", which in application to a demiurge would be eminently fitting. But the use of פתח in the sense of create is itself so unusual as to require explanation. Has it evolved from the use of the expression פתח רחם? If so how can this expression be applicable to the creation of the cosmos? To these questions no answer has yet been given. The sense of the name Ptahil, where its Aramaic origin is assumed, thus remains obscure.

The difficulty which will be felt at this point has led Lidzbarski to conjecture that the name is not essentially Aramaic but a combination of *Ptah*, the name of the Egyptian deity, and the word על or אל. The Egyptian *Ptah*, originally a metalworker, later became the demiurge to the dwellers of the Nile valley. The Mandaic use of the word פתח in the sense "create" he considers a modification of פתח in the sense of "engrave", the transition being effected in connection with the change in the status of the god *Ptah* from that of a metalworker to that of a creator.<sup>5</sup>

Two significant facts make it quite impossible to accept this ingenious interpretation. The first is that analogous Biblical names, one the name of a person פתחיה "Yah has opened (the womb)",<sup>6</sup> the other the name of a valley יפתחאל "God opens

<sup>3</sup> Norberg, *Codex Nasaraeus*, tome V, Onomasticon, 1817, sub voce; Kessler, op. cit., p. 166, 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. M. Lidzbarski, *Mandäische Liturgien*, Berlin, 1920, p. xxi. An instance will be found in the baptismal liturgy, p. 6, 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, vol. II, Giessen, 1915, p. xxvii, and *Mand. Lit.*, pp. xxi-xxii.

<sup>6</sup> 1. Chron. 24, 16; cf. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen*, Stuttgart, 1928, p. 179.

(or makes wide)”,<sup>7</sup> are both intelligible without recourse to such an hypothesis, and furnish an a priori likelihood of the Aramaic derivation. The second is that for the syncretistic period and particularly for the syncretists of Syria and Mesopotamia the Egyptian god *Ptah* and the cosmogony which he represents were virtually of no significance. It is usually a Semitic figure, the Yahwe of the Old Testament or a fallen Sophia who is made responsible for creation in the later period. Recourse should therefore be taken to an Egyptian deity only when all other possibilities have been fully exhausted. Besides it is much more logical to explain the name *Ptahil* from the peculiar use of the verb  $\text{פָּתַח}$ , than to adopt the reverse course of procedure.

Facing the two questions, the answers to which have caused so much difficulty, we are inclined to believe that to answer the first (is *Ptahil* an evil deity?) without previously having answered the second (what is the significance of his name?) is impossible and methodologically incorrect.

What the Mandaic texts have to tell us about the origin of the plan of creation and about *Ptahil*'s relation to the celestial powers subsequent to the performance of the act of creation is confusing and often quite contradictory. In books I and II of the *Right Ginza* the plan of creation is conceived by the supreme God, here called the King of Light.<sup>8</sup> In book III on the contrary it arises in the mind of the “second one”, *Joshamin*, a power occupying as it were a lower level of the heavenly realms.<sup>9</sup> It owes its origin to the fact that *Joshamin* on his level does not possess the luxurious environment of which the supreme deity (here called “Life”) can boast. In book I creation is actually effected either by the word of God himself,<sup>10</sup> or by his agent *Gabriel Sh'liḥa*. In book III the plan is transferred to the mind of *Joshamin*'s offspring, *Abatur*, and actually consummated by his son *Ptahil*. *Ptahil*'s operations

<sup>7</sup> Joshua 19, 14, cf. Gen. 9, 27  $\text{וַיִּפְתָּח יְהוָה לְנוֹחַ וּלְדָוִד}$ .

<sup>8</sup> *Ginza, der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer*, trans. by M. Lidzbarski, Göttingen, 1925, p. 14, 28 ff., p. 33, 1 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ginza*, p. 78, 25-28.

<sup>10</sup> *Ginza*, p. 15, 19-20: Der hohe Lichtkönig sprach das Wort aus, da entstand jegliches Ding durch sein Wort.

are here neither desired or approved by the supreme God,<sup>11</sup> and may possibly have been considered the result of a revolt.<sup>12</sup>

Ptahil's own relations to the celestial powers in the period subsequent to the act of creation are also described in contradictory terms. In one group of passages we are told that his creation, his house (the world), is taken from him, that he is fettered and imprisoned in one of the stars (the guardhouses of syncretism) until the world shall have passed away, and that a curtain is dropped to separate him from Abatur and the other heavenly powers.<sup>13</sup> In another group of passages we find that he has been forgiven his deed and has been appointed by the agents of the supreme deity to be its regent of the established world order.<sup>14</sup>

Orientalists, officials of state, and missionaries who have come into direct contact with the Mandaeans in Mesopotamia are unanimous in declaring them monotheistic in their outlook at the present time and as far back as the seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> From the fact that the sect survived the Mohammedan era it would appear likely that the Mandaeans succeeded in being classed among the *dhimmi*, possibly as or of the Sabaeans, from which it would seem to follow that they were at that time believed to share the true revelation and the monotheism belonging to it. From these facts and probabilities it can be and has been argued that those passages in which creation is consummated at the behest of the supreme God, and in which the demiurge is the authorized representative of the supreme god within the cosmic order, are the expressions of the Mandaic faith in the later period of its development. The corollary to this is that such sections of the *Ginza* as reflect a tension between Ptahil and the god "Life", or imply that creation was undesirable to the latter, represent the older, original Mandaic theology. Hence Ptahil is made out to be an evil demiurge.

Yet two difficulties arise which do not permit this line of argument to become utterly convincing. In the first place we have

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<sup>11</sup> *Ginza*, p. 68, 7-8: Steige früher zur Welt herab, bevor die Uthras (a blanket name for all lesser heavenly beings) dahingehen und etwas tun das für uns hässlich und unschön, und dem Leben nicht recht . . . ist.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the use of "aufrührerische Thron" to describe Joshamin *Ginza*, p. 76, 23.

<sup>13</sup> *Ginza*, p. 352, 21-36, p. 105, 11-18.

<sup>14</sup> *Ginza*, p. 359, 24-40, pp. 364-367.

<sup>15</sup> Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, p. 56 gives a partial list of testimonies.

no guarantee that the dualism which has definitely affected the character of the Mandaic faith at one stage in its development, is actually to be associated with the ultimate origins of that faith. Conceivably the period of dualistic leanings might be a passing element in the evolution of a religion both the beginning and the later ends of which are monotheistic. In the second place the traditions to the effect that Ptahil is the son of a beneficent power Abatur are so strong, uniform and uncontradicted that it is difficult to think of him as essentially satanic even when his act of creation is described as unwelcome to the supreme deity. In character he approximates, at his worst, only the fallen angels or the revolting Lucifer, and not the demiurgic archons of Manicheism.

If it be difficult to explain the contradictions contained in the texts which tell about Ptahil's relation to the divine pleroma, by the assumption of a primitive dualism, it will be equally difficult to argue on *general* grounds that the Mandaeans were originally monotheistic in their leanings and that as creator Ptahil thus belongs originally to the heavenly hierarchy. A thorough-going monotheism in the age of syncretism would be rather an unusual phenomenon. In distinction from others who have busied themselves in passing with the problem of the god Ptahil, we therefore choose to leave the question, is he an evil deity, unanswered for the moment, and to seek from the analysis of the name and its connotations an objective basis for the interpretation of his character.

The name Ptahil, though it has analogies in the פְּתִיחִי and פְּתִיחִי of the old Testament previously referred to, is by no means common in the later era. Outside the Mandaic texts we have to date only one actual occurrence, namely in the *Diwan* of Rūba ben El 'Aḡḡāḡ in the passage:

. . . . .  
Und frägt mich aus, wie viele Jahr' ich alt sei?  
Ich sprach: blieb ich am Leben, alt wie Hīsl,  
Oder so lang wie Nūh' zur Zeit Fiṭah'l's (فطاحل)  
Als Felsen sich erweichten wie der Lehmstoff . . .<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> XLVI, 12-15. trans. by W. Ahlwardt, Berlin, 1904. Reference was first made to this passage by Brandt. *Mandäische Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, p. 60, n. 3.

Clearly Fitahl is here the guardian deity or the heros eponymos of one of the ages of the world's history. This age marked by longevity, by the plasticity of the creative substance, and by Noah as one of its important personages, can scarcely be any other than the very first age of human and cosmic history. In the later Orient the eponymos of the paradisiacal age is usually Yima or Jamshid. It is therefore to be expected that Bousset, arguing from the Diwan of the Arabic poet, should suggest that the Mandaean Ptahil is in fact none other than the Iranian Yima.<sup>17</sup> In support of this identification he adduces the observations that both Ptahil and Yima enter into relations with evil powers (*daevas*), and that both experience a fall from grace by reason of this relationship. To this we might add that both are expected to be the rulers of the faithful in the new paradise at the end of time.<sup>18</sup>

Interesting as the similarities between the two figures are, and ready as one must be to admit that the figure of Yima may secondarily have influenced that of Ptahil (the assimilation being the basis for the erudite substitution of Ptahil for Jamshid in the verse of the Arabic poet), it is difficult to believe that in Yima we have the clue to the origin of the Mandaic demiurge. Two observations need to be recorded in this connection. First, the figure of Yima furnishes no tangible basis for the assumption by Ptahil of a demiurgic rôle. Second the Iranian eponymos gives no explanation of the origin of the name Ptahil other than that contained in the unwarranted assumption that, by reason of his association with the early ages of the world, he could become a demiurge, and completely ignores the question how the verb ܡܬܥܝܪ ever came to be employed in the sense of "create". We are therefore inclined to dismiss the reference to Ptahil in Rûba ben El'Aġġāġ as being of no primary importance for the problem of the origin and identity of the Mandaic demiurge, and thus return to the Mandaic texts themselves in seeking the solution of this problem.

The starting point for this search will necessarily be found in the narrative of Ptahil's evocation. Reported in the Ginza in the form of a prophecy and its fulfillment, the story goes:

<sup>17</sup> *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, pp. 356-358.

<sup>18</sup> For Ptahil cf. *Ginza*, p. 312. 5-6: Er wird König der Uthras genannt werden und die Herrschaft über den ganzen Stamm der Seelen erhalten.

Es (das Leben) . . . offenbarte mir (Hibil) und sprach zu mir: Hibil, reiner Mana. Joshamin hat drei Söhne geschaffen. Einer von ihnen bewahrt das Nest seiner Eltern, einer wohnt bei seinem Vater, einer, jener Abathur, geht in jene Welt in der du gewesen bist. Er sieht sein Gesicht im schwarzen Wasser, und sein Abbild und Sohn wird ihm aus dem schwarzen Wasser gebildet.

Als das Leben, mein Vater, so sprach, stand Abathur auf, öffnete das Tor, schaute in das schwarze Wasser, und in derselben Stunde wurde sein Abbild im schwarzen Wasser gebildet. Ptahil wurde gebildet und stieg zum Grenzzort empor. Abathur sah prüfend Ptahil an und sprach zu seinem Sohne Ptahil: Komm, komm, Ptahil, du bist es den ich im schwarzen Wasser geschaut habe.<sup>19</sup>

At first glance it might appear as though this passage, taken by itself, would furnish the clue to the origin of the name Ptahil. His birth is here directly connected with the "opening" of the gate of heaven, through which Abatur looks out when evoking his son from the water. A number of considerations, some of them of fundamental importance in our estimation, require the rejection of this easy solution. The opening of the gate of heaven, for one thing, is a thoroughly commonplace act, endlessly repeated in the narratives of the *Ginza*, and one which by reason of its casual nature, would hardly be of sufficient significance to be made the basis of Ptahil's name. Nor is the act to which Ptahil owes his origin the first instance of the opening of the heavenly gate. In the very passage just quoted we are told that Hibil descended to the world of murky water, the reference being to his primordial conflict with the powers of darkness, a late form of the Tiamat myth, recorded in book V of the *Ginza*. This descent must also have been preceded by the opening of the gate of heaven. More important, in our estimation, is the consideration that the term ܠܝܝ employed in the name Ptahil and in the corresponding expression, "God opened", can hardly be applicable to Abatur, here designated as the father of the demiurge. Abatur distinctly belongs to the lower of the two levels of heavenly existence (he is the son of Joshamin), and to our knowledge ܠܝܝ is used only of

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<sup>19</sup> *Ginza*, p. 173, 34-174, 6.

beings of the uppermost level (so Hibil and Shithil for instance). Finally, we are inclined to suppose that the person called Ptahil will hardly be the product of the act of opening, whatever that act may have been, but rather the opener himself.

Our interest in the passage dealing with the origin of Ptahil lies as yet entirely in the sphere of the information which it affords of the birth of divine beings generally. It is a fact, insufficiently regarded in the earlier discussions of the Mandaean theology, that the evocation of divine beings here follows a very definite and precisely formulated process. The process may be described as one in which the paternal power takes his stand over or at a body of water, regards his image in the water, extends to it his right hand, grasps the right hand of the image which has of course moved toward the extended right hand of the mirrored person, calls to the image, and raises it up out of the water by the hand. In evidence of this fact we offer here, in addition to the statement about Ptahil's origin, only reference to the constancy of the image relationship between father and son among the members of the divine pleroma,<sup>20</sup> and a passage from the ninth book of the Right Ginza where the supreme deity directs its offspring:

Auf, ziehet hinaus zum Piriawis-Jordan, und zu den Wogen des Wassers, ersinnet und rufet hervor einen Sohn.

...

Sie (his offspring) erhoben sich, zogen zum Piriawis-Jordan und zu den Wogen des Wassers hinaus, sie ersannen und riefen hervor den einzigen Sohn, dessen Gestalt nicht vergeht. . . .<sup>21</sup>

It is this process in which we have the basis for the whole of the Mandaic baptismal liturgy. The submergence of the neophyte in the water of baptism, the gesture of giving the right hand of Kushta, the conception of *לֵאחֵז לְאִישָׁא*, the use of the word *קִיאָמְתָּא* to describe the act of acceptance into the Mandaic community by baptism, and the interpretation of baptism as rebirth, are all motivated by the fact that baptism reënacts the evocation of divine

<sup>20</sup> Manda d'Haije the image of the god Life: *Ginza*, p. 177, 32, Hibil the image of his father: *ibid.*, 152, 31. Cf. further the "Register" to Lidzbarski's translation of the *Ginza sub voce*: Abbild.

<sup>21</sup> *Ginza*, pp. 235, 34-236, 8.



beings, thus making it possible for the neophyte in baptism to become a partaker of the divine life and its blessings.

A later development in the conception of the evocation of divine beings has made the "image", which in the story of Ptahil's birth is still impersonal until it is raised from the water, the female *paredros* of the paternal deity and the mother of the evoked offspring.<sup>22</sup> In this form the conception is shared by the Koukeans of whom Bar Khoni tells. As translated by Pognon the account reads:

Ils disent que Dieu . . . s'assit sur les eaux, les regarda et y vit sa propre image; qu'il étendit la main, la prit, en fit sa compagne, eut des rapports avec elle et engendra d'elle une foule de dieux et de déesses.<sup>23</sup>

The acceptance by the Mandeans, and by the Koukeans as well, of this particular view of the evocation of divine beings will hardly be entirely fortuitous. Unique conceptions such as this are usually rooted in some premise of the whole system and it is in endeavoring to follow through to the ultimate premises of the doctrine that we find an answer to the question of the origin and significance of the name and the figure of Ptahil.

Bar Khoni in the earlier part of his narrative concerning the Koukeans, a part not previously quoted here, gives the ultimate premise of the conception of divine evocation held in these circles. He says:

Ils disent que Dieu naquit de la mer située dans la terre de lumière, qu'ils appellent la mer éveillée . . . et que la mer de lumière et la terre sont plus anciennes que Dieu; que lorsque Dieu naquit de la mer éveillée il s'assit sur les eaux . . .<sup>24</sup>

The theogony to which reference is here made by Bar Khoni was at one time held by the Mandeans. Some traces of it are still to be found in the *Ginza* and in the Mandaic liturgies. Two pas-

<sup>22</sup> So Dmuth-Haije is the mother of Joshamin, *Ginza*, p. 290, 25.

<sup>23</sup> *Inscriptions mandaites des Coupes de Khouabir*, Paris, 1898, pp. 209-210, Syriac text p. 144. The narrative of course recalls the story of the creation of man in tract I of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, cf. my *Anthropos and Son of Man*, New York, 1927, pp. 44-45.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, then follows the remainder of the passage as quoted above.

sages are of particular significance in this connection. Both speak of the supreme deity as "Life", a term possibly strange at first glance, yet fully established in its application.<sup>25</sup> The first of these passages reads:

Die grosse Frucht entstand,  
und in ihr der Jordan.  
Der grosse Jordan entstand,  
und es entstand das lebende Wasser.  
Es entstand das glänzende, prangende Wasser.  
und aus dem lebenden Wasser bin ich, das Leben,  
entstanden.  
Ich, das Leben entstand,  
und alsdann entstanden alle Uthras.<sup>26</sup>

The statement contained in this passage is in the main intelligible without further comment. The supreme deity is born from the heavenly Jordan, the river which flows through heaven, the one from which all other heavenly beings are produced and the one in the lower terrestrial reaches of which the faithful are baptized. The one obscure element of the passage is the reference to the fact that the Jordan comes from the great "fruit" פִּירָא. This requires elucidation by reference to the second of the two important passages bearing upon the theogony. This second passage reads:

Pirjawi, der grosse Jordan des ersten Lebens, der ganz Heilungen ist, flammt wie Glanz im Tanna (תַּנָּא). Als das Leben flammte, als das Leben emporkam durch den grossen Glanz, der darin flammt, stieg das Leben empor und gründete eine Shkina über dem Tanna. Der Glanz erhitzte sich, und das Tanna schmolz. Wasser wurde geschaffen und das Leben fand Bestand" (אֲתֻקְאִיאָם דִּיִּיא) in seinem eignen Wasser. . . . Das Leben stellte das Leben (itself?) im Wasser auf. . . .<sup>27</sup>

This passage contains some rather obscure elements, yet it undoubtedly refers to the same event to which the Ginza passage previously quoted refers, namely the moment of the emergence of

<sup>25</sup> Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, p. 17; Kessler, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>26</sup> *Ginza*, p. 73, 19-26.

<sup>27</sup> *Mand. Lit.*, p. 25, 5-11.

the deity "Life" from the waters of the heavenly Jordan. It adds to the previous passage the detail that the Jordan comes from, or represents in a molten form, the Tanna within which were originally contained "splendor" **וִיָּא** (an effulgence or radiance like the divine **δῶξα** or *hvarēna*) and the deity Life itself. The important point for us in this context is the meaning of the word **תַּאנָּא**, analogous in the present passage to the **פִּירָא** of the previous one. The word itself is not found, to our knowledge, outside of Mandaic writ. Lidzbarski's attempt to explain it as an abbreviation of **תְּנִינְרָא** is most certainly wrong.<sup>28</sup> One would normally suppose it to be a noun formed by the use of the prefix **ת**<sup>29</sup> from the common root **אָנָּה**. It would in this case be analogous with Mandaic **מַאנָּא**, and like it would signify a vessel or container. How the oriental imagination came to call this "container" within which there existed the germ or seed of "Life" a fruit, will not be difficult to comprehend.

Now it is our conjecture that this "container" or "fruit", from which the supreme deity and the heavenly Jordan emerged, represents the cosmic egg well known from the oriental theogonies of Eudemus and Mochos and from the orphic theogony, all reported by Damascius.<sup>30</sup> The arguments which may be advanced in favor of this hypothesis include among others the following: (1) The word **הִילְכִנָּא** literally "white of egg", but in the Mandaic dialect the egg itself, is frequently used by the Mandaeans to denote the place from which heavenly beings arise and in which they live.<sup>31</sup> This is probably a reminiscence of the fact that the supreme deity originally proceeded from an egg. The basis for the extension of this idea will become apparent shortly. (2) One passage of the Ginza actually makes **הִילְכִנָּא** and **תַּאנָּא** synonymous. Here Manda d'Haije declares to the supreme heavenly powers:

Ich will mich aufmachen und den Schatzhalter, euren Sohn, jene Pflanze, die ihr gepflanzt, das Abbild, das ihr gebildet habt aus eurem Versteck, eurem Ei, aus jenem

<sup>28</sup> *Mand. Lit.*, p. 19, n. 3.

<sup>29</sup> For nouns formed in this way in the Mandaean dialect cf. *Nöldeke, Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle, 1875, pp. 133-134.

<sup>30</sup> *De principiis*, cc. 123, 125, ed. Kopp, pp. 380, 385.

<sup>31</sup> This fact has already brought itself to the attention of Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, vol. II, p. 208, n. 7.

Jordan, den ihr hingezogen . . . , aus dem Tanna und der Ader eures Ortes rufen.<sup>32</sup>

(3) The imagery of the theogony which speaks of the presence in the "container" of ܐܘܪܐ "splendor" and of the fluid which becomes the heavenly Jordan, a stream of "white water",<sup>33</sup> recalls nothing so much as the yolk and the white of an egg. We assume in this connection that the Mandaic use of ܗܝܠܒܢܐ for the egg proper derives from the fact that the deity, representing the ܐܘܪܐ or yolk, actually emerges through the "white waters" of the Jordan, which become the egg per se as pars pro toto. Since all later evocations in the divine pleroma are also produced from the Jordan, it is possible to see how they can be said to come from ܗܝܠܒܢܐ also.

Two conclusions, both of them contributing extensively to the clarification of the confusion which has obtained with respect to the original constitution of the divine pleroma and the nature of the process of creation in Mandaic theology, naturally follow when we postulate at one step in the development of the Mandaic faith the acceptance of this theogony. The first is that to the pleroma associated with our theogony belong only the supreme god "Life", Manda d'Haije (his hypostatic reason), Kushta (truth as the directive force of his reason and his actions), and the Uthras (the angels, literally, the riches of his wisdom or reason). Other heavenly beings have been introduced into this hierarchy to reconcile it with the beliefs current in earlier or later stages of the development of the Mandaean faith. So the Hibil-Shithil-Anosh group, together with Joshamin have been introduced into the hierarchy to coördinate it with a prior, Palestinian stage in Mandaic development, and Abatur, literally "the man with the scales", and none other than the Iranian Rashnu, to accommodate it to the subsequent Iranian influence.<sup>34</sup> The second conclusion is that the whole of the process of cosmogony is but the continuation of the process begun in the theogony. and that it consists of the mingling of the two heavenly elements "radiance" and "water", released by the opening of the egg. with the analogous elements

<sup>32</sup> *Ginza*, p. 150, ult.-151, 4.

<sup>33</sup> *Ginza*, p. 12, 15-16: Die Jordane der Lichwelten sind voll weissen Wassers.

<sup>34</sup> For the etymology of Abatur cf. Lidzbarski, *Johannesbuch*, II, p. xxix.

contained in the "burning water" of the foul primordial deep. And, as the downward flow of the heavenly Jordan, once it has been released from the egg, and the ubiquitous radiation of the heavenly "brilliance" are of themselves automatic, so the whole process of their mingling with the elements of the deep and the consequent formation of the cosmic order are virtually automatic. It is only the creation of man in which the divine reason plays a special part.<sup>35</sup>

These conclusions, if for the moment they be accepted, and of the utmost importance in explaining the Mandaic use of ܡܬܬܢܐ in the sense of "create" and in clarifying the origin of the god Ptahil. In the days when the theogony with which we have concerned ourselves was an element of the living faith of the Mandaeans, there was one and only one act of "opening" sufficiently important to affect the vocabulary and nomenclature employed by the sect. This was the opening of the ܡܬܬܢܐ. But the opening of ܡܬܬܢܐ was eo ipso also the beginning of the process of creation, the creation of the heavenly hierarchy and of the cosmic system. On this basis we can understand how ܡܬܬܢܐ "to open" came to be used in the sense of "create". The deity associated with the process of creation under the name "God opened" can then *originally* have been none other than the supreme god himself, who opened the egg and issued forth from it thereby giving a beginning to the process of cosmogony. Ptahil in his original form, is then the supreme deity in his particular function as creator, a beneficent and not an evil power.

It is a far cry from the earliest, postulated use of the name Ptahil as a functional reference to the supreme god, to the demiurge Ptahil of the existing Mandaic texts. Yet if we take into account the facts that have been established and the streams of dualistic influence playing upon the Mandaeans in their later Mesopotamian environment, the changes that have come about will become entirely intelligible. Dualism demands that the creator and the supreme deity be differentiated. By transforming the modalistic Ptahil into a separate hypostasis and moving this hypostasis as far down the line of evocation as possible, the older monotheism

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<sup>35</sup> Extended proof of the validity of these conclusions which space does not permit me to present here, I hope to offer in a subsequent publication.

was accommodated to the needs of a later period. Where the traditions telling about the acceptability of Ptahil's creation and about his subsequent relations to deity fluctuate, we see the later Mandeans endeavoring simultaneously to copy the dualistic stories of the fettered archons of Manicheism, and to preserve the continuity of their own traditional religious belief.

One particular item, that of Ptahil's subsequent relationship, as son, to Abatur requires additional explanation. According to all the canons of dualism, Ptahil as demiurge belongs outside the actual boundary line of the pleroma during the process of creation and during the era of cosmic existence. This fact was given to begin with. On the other hand Abatur, the Iranian Rashnu, belongs at the very portal of the heavenly world. In the Iranian traditions he sits at the Činvat bridge weighing the souls of the departed in the balance and admitting the faithful to the spiritual world. What is more natural under the conditions obtaining in a dualistic environment, than that Abatur as the one nearest the outer extremities of the divine realm, should be placed in an immediate and personal relationship to the demiurge who normally ranks highest in the order of those powers within the cosmic realm. The collocation made simple the transition from the world of existence to the world of causation, a transition which proved so difficult to all those who like the Gnostics seriously concerned themselves with the problem of evil. That the origin of Ptahil as the son of Abatur was described in the text quoted above, in terms of the process of evocation connected with the old theogony is a fact for which we must be grateful, for it gives us the clue to the ultimate origin, identity, and significance of the figure.

## BRIEF NOTE

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### Addendum on the *Record of Darius's Palace at Susa*

In connection with the text of the *Record*, as published by me in this JOURNAL 53. 1-23, É. Benveniste of Paris writes that Scheil has received an additional fragment which establishes the reading *naucaina* in lines 30-1, rather than *nauzaina*. The latter reading is therefore definitely to be rejected. *Naucaina*, he emphasizes, means "of the nature of the pine."

Benveniste, in the same letter, rejects König's equation *θa-ra-mi-i-ša* in 30 with Greek *τέρμινθος*, and adopts Herzfeld's *θarmiš* = Acc. *surmēnu*. He normalizes *a-ra-ja-na-ma* as *āra<sup>n</sup>janam* 'ornament, carving', and takes it from *rang-*, *ranj-*, cf. Mod. Pers. *rānj*, etc.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra: seine Entzifferung und seine Gestalt. Mit drei Anhängen.* VON HANS BAUER. Halle/Saale: MAX NIEMEYER VERLAG, 1932. Pp. 2 + 76.

The distinguished pioneer in the decipherment of the Ras Shamra texts in alphabetic cuneiform script (in his *Entzifferung der Keilschrifttafeln von Ras Schamra*, 1930) presents in this monograph a collection of various detail studies upon those texts; he takes position cautiously, eschewing translations at length, and we are indebted to him for a valuable lot of philological collectanea. He draws his statistical material almost entirely from the small tablets published by Virolleaud in 1929 (*Syria*, X, pl. 4), with only partial reference to the first fragments of the Epic published in 1931, to which texts Appendix III, pp. 64-70, presents some "grundsätzliche Anmerkungen", while the latest find of further epical material (*Syria*, 1932, pl. 2) came too late for his consideration. The fast growing amount of material tends promptly to antiquate current discussions, but these are of permanent value when they pursue careful philological method, such as characterizes all of Bauer's work. Pp. 1-17 are devoted to explanation and defence of the "method" he employed in his determination of the consonants of the new alphabet, along with acknowledgment of the cases wherein he was misled. Appendix I, pp. 41-56, offers a chronological table of the facts and documents pertaining to the discovery and decipherment from May, 1929, to January, 1932; this includes summaries and some citations at length of the various discussions. Such a presentation was felt by the author to be necessary, as in one quarter his own valuable contribution to the decipherment has been ignored. Pp. 18-39 consist of lists supporting the identifications of distinct signs for *h* and *h*, for the several sibilants, *s*, *š* and the representative of Arabic *t*, and for the three signs for *ṣ*, which vary according to the coloration of the attendant vowel, although the distinctions have not yet been exactly diagnosed; the notes on these phenomena are valuable. Partial transliterations, with notes, are given for the small tablets in App. II, pp. 59-63, while their subject matter is briefly discussed, pp.



36-39. A study of the divine names *Môt* and *Ba'al*, pp. 71-74, is very suggestive; for the presence of *Môt* in the Biblical nomenclature he has been anticipated by the late Professor Paton. Bauer would relate *môt* ultimately to the element *mut* found in *Methushael*, etc. (he parallels *šem*, *sēmā*, *šūm*). From the phrase in the later texts *על בלען*, "Baal the mighty", he would interpret the Biblical name of the Solomonic pillar and the n. pr. *בלען*. For comparison the reviewer may note the number of place-names containing this element in disguise in the Lebanon, e. g., *Ba'abda*, *Ba'aqlin*, probably *Brummānā*.<sup>1</sup> On pp. 74-76 are cited a number of examples illustrating the principle that "in a word with a labial an emphatic may be reduced to a non-emphatic".

The monograph appears to have been built up with various accretions, and the reviewer has attempted an orderly analysis of its contents. A discussion of importance is given, pp. 66 ff., on the tenses in our dialect—the Sefonian, as Bauer proposes to call it; one of the problems in the texts is the constant use of the verbal imperfect for historic time, and Bauer moots the question whether typical *yktl* may not equally represent *yakṭul* and *yakṭal*, as with the Akkadian tenses. In regard to phonetic details he cites several unsolved problems, e. g. Heb. *ששן בקש* written with *š*, Arab. *ṣ*; cf. also the transcriptions for *שש* and *שש*, "six", p. 23. It appears that the Saphonian scribes had not attained philological accuracy in their phonetic representations, and discount against their spellings must be allowed on this score. That their work had by no means reached a schooled perfection appears from the large number of obvious errors in the texts. For many points which Bauer touches upon, and for others in which elucidation is attempted, I refer to some *Notes* of mine on those texts to appear shortly in these columns. I may note here that for י "day", as a god, as argued by Bauer, p. 37, he might well have adduced the new Aramaic inscription from Sudschin, so brilliantly interpreted by him, in which, Aa, 12, Day is one of a series of deities invoked. Also in connection with Šapon (p. 37) may be noted its theophorous use in Hebrew and Phoenician names, e. g. *צפניה*.

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<sup>1</sup> The first syllable may represent *beit* in some instances.

*Études sur les Origines de la Religion de l'Égypte.* Par SAMUEL A. B. MERCER. London: LUZAC, 1929. Pp. xi + 105.

The difficulty of penetrating to the ethnic or religious origins of a country like Egypt are very great. The researches of the Oriental Institute of Chicago have shown that man has inhabited the Nile Valley for something like 100,000 years. During that time, race has been imposed upon race, each bringing with it its religious conceptions. In the brochure before us, Prof. Mercer has made an attempt to explore those far-off ages. He discusses in successive chapters "Egypt before the Period of the Pyramid Texts," and each of the gods Horus, Seth, Osiris, and Re before the Pyramid Texts, concluding his work with a chapter on the origin of the Egyptian religion. The book was published in 1929, but Prof. Mercer had published a brief study of the same subject in the April number of the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* for 1928.

The book bears upon every page the stamp of wide reading and thoughtful scholarship. In the sketch of Egypt in the first chapter, Prof. Mercer has made use of all the recent researches which throw light on the subject including the publications of Brunton on "The Badarian Civilisation" and Sanford and Arkel's investigations of the Fayum. Prof. Mercer's thesis is that the god Horus, the falcon god, was the most ancient god of historic Egypt and of the first Pharaohs; that Seth was the god of the indigeous Egyptians, that Osiris was probably introduced from Asia, and that Re was the god of the Armenoid or Alpine people who invaded Egypt and settled at Heliopolis.

The work of Prof. Mercer is very suggestive and in groping for the truth where the evidences are so slight every hypothesis should be sympathetically considered. In the judgment of the reviewer, the origin of the Egyptian religion cannot be discovered by a process as simple as that which Prof. Mercer has followed. The method pursued by Prof. Sethe in his *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1930), seems to the reviewer to be more scientific and to lead to far more probable results. Prof. Sethe takes the names as units and also applies to each name knowledge gained from the study of anthropology, but reaches quite different conclusions.

The reviewer has for some years been working on the subject and his results will be presented in his forth-coming *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*. While it is true that the four deities treated by Prof. Mercer assumed in Egyptian history shortly before the dynastic period an important rôle, the real beginnings were, in the reviewer's judgment, far different. The hawk was not, in the reviewer's opinion, at the beginning a single deity but the totem of several tribes each of which originally worshipped different spirits. These tribes pictured their deity by this totem and ultimately, after writing was invented, *ḥr*, the name of the totem, came to designate the deity; thus in nomes settled by tribes whose totem was the hawk, Horus appeared to be worshipped. The reviewer mentions this simply as an example of the way in which in his judgment one can discern beginnings that lay considerably farther back than Prof. Mercer penetrates. He agrees, however, with Prof. Mercer that Osiris and Isis were of Asiatic origin; he would go farther and say specifically, of Semitic origin for which he believes to have etymological grounds.

We welcome, however, Prof. Mercer's book. Doubtless had Prof. Sethe's work been published before his own, Prof. Mercer would have taken advantage of the researches of the German scholar and written somewhat differently.

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*Woodbrooke Studies*, Vol. III: 1. *Vision of Theophilus*; 2. *Apocalypse of Peter*; Vol. V: *Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Nicene Creed*. By A. MINGANA. Cambridge: HEFFER & SONS, 1931, 1932.

The first document in Vol. III, namely the *Vision of Theophilus*, patriarch of Alexandria (385-412), is only a section of an apocryphal work in six books on the life of the Virgin and her Son. This vision relates the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt, the sojourn of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, and Salome on the mountain of Kuskam, and the consecration of the house, in which they had dwelt, as a church. Although, according to the text, the story was related to Theophilus by the Virgin herself (p. 40), and written down by

St. Cyril as he had heard it from the same Theophilus, his predecessor (p. 42), Mingana is of the opinion that it is the work of a late Coptic bishop of the eleventh century who wrote it in Arabic. It seems indeed very probable that the Syriac text is a translation of an Arabic original, for, as the editor points out, there are in the text distinct Arabic words and many Arabic expressions altogether foreign to the Syriac language. The striking examples, noted by Mingana (pp. 4-6), prove this beyond doubt. To these may be added the strange locution found, p. 67, l. 19: *Hā bat<sup>r</sup>rēn lestāiē*, "Behold the two robbers", where the use of *hā* followed by the preposition *b* is evidently a literal rendering of the Arabic *'idhā bi*. The Syriac text, here reproduced, is that of Mingana Syr. 48 with variants from Mingana Syr. 5 and Borgiano siriano 128, now in the Vatican Library. There are also two Garshūni MSS of the story, Mingana Syr. 39 and Mingana Syr. 114, but no use has been made of them for they do not contribute anything of importance. The English translation is very good and reads well. Some of the renderings, however, may be slightly emended. P. 45, l. 18: *Šerā*: "he dwelt" instead of "he came down". P. 46, l. 16: translate: "which is interpreted, Our God with us", after the reading of the Peshittā. P. 52, l. 3: the Pa'el *iaqqar* is "to honor" rather than "to praise". P. 60, l. 1: the following sentence is omitted: "but let it (the water) be bitter in the mouths of the inhabitants of the city". P. 62, l. 12: translate: "all those who stammer, or are dumb or deaf". P. 76, l. 12: *kāphōrē* is "infidels", not "cruel men". P. 79, l. 9: instead of *nenoh* we would expect *ninah* from *'enah* ("to wail"); but perhaps *nenoh*, which in Syriac means "he ceases" or "he is quiet", is used here for the Arabic *nāha* ("to wail"). Line 15: *haiiel(i) lebbekh(i)*: render: "Comfort thy heart", or "Be of good cheer", not: "Receive power from me", which is an oversight, for the same expression on the next page, l. 3, is translated correctly. P. 79, last line: translate: "your weeping, your anguish and your trouble have reached my heart".

The second document is an Apocalypse of Peter, called in some MSS the Book of the Rolls, a title which seems more appropriate. It is another recension of a work attributed to Clement and has nothing in common with the ancient Greek Apocalypse of Peter. Mingana considers it a *mixtum compositum*, consisting of different layers, the oldest of which he would assign to about A. D. 800.

By processes of addition and subtraction the work would have assumed its present form during the fourteenth century. The Garshūni text in this edition is that of Mingana Syr. 70. Mingana did not think it necessary to include the first 52 folios as this part has been edited and translated by Mrs. Gibson from a similar MS (*Studia Sinaitica*, VIII). The folios reproduced in facsimile are 53b-81, 81-115, 155b-187. All these are translated in full; the rest are partly analyzed and partly translated. The translation of the work was a very difficult task for the Garshūni text was made after an Arabic MS in which many diacritical points had been omitted, and congratulations are due Mingana, one of our best Arabic scholars, for giving us a thoroughly reliable interpretation of this strange Apocalypse.

Vol. V of the *Woodbrooke Studies* contains the Syriac text and English translation of a hitherto lost work of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the Commentary on the Nicene Creed, often referred to in patristic literature as the *Liber ad baptizandos*. Only a few quotations from this important treatise were known; they are found in the Latin version of the Acts of the Fifth Oecumenical Council (553), in the synodal letter of Pope Pelagius, in the writings of Facundus, and in those of Marius Mercator. All those quotations are given in this edition (pp. 8-16). The Syriac text of this famous commentary is that of the unique MS, Mingana Syr. 561. As this MS is not in a good state of preservation, Mingana has not given a photographic reproduction of it, as he has done in the case of other unique texts, but has copied it and edited it in the ordinary Syriac script which is more familiar to students. The translation is worthy of all praise. Syriac versions of Greek philosophical and theological works present many difficulties, even to the best interpreters; in this case the translator has performed the delicate task with great skill and judgment. We have noticed only a few instances in which the translation may be somewhat modified. P. 117, l. 21: read: "the wisdom that was hidden in Him." P. 118, l. 23: instead of *b<sup>e</sup>khol*, read *khol*. P. 120, l. 19: we would suggest *q<sup>e</sup>dhāmān* "before us", and render: "We hope to go to heaven where Christ went before us on our behalf". P. 134, l. 7: translate: To this "Creator" they added "of all things visible and invisible"; l. 14: *haw* seems correct; then translate: "because He, who is said to be His Son, is of the same nature". P. 135, l. 8: *mawdāiū* here, we believe, has the meaning "to con-

fess", and we would translate: "We must, therefore, confess two things of God: that He is Father, and that He is also Creator." P. 141, l. 5: read: "And His humanity also is confessed in which the divine nature was made known and proclaimed". P. 147, l. 18: *Ellā* here means "but": "And to show that He was with God, not from outside as something foreign, *but* from the very nature of the divinity". P. 160, l. 24: *Benaināšā*: in this passage, and wherever this sentence of the Nicene Creed is quoted, read "men", not "children of men", in order to include Adam and Eve to whom *barnāšā* in the strict sense of "child of man" does not apply; the words of the original Greek, *δι ἡμῶς ἀνθρώπων*, refer to all men without exception. P. 177, l. 5: *Nafšeh sarreq*: we would prefer the common rendering: "He emptied Himself".

Students of Oriental languages will welcome the splendid edition of this treatise which many thought lost for ever. It is a unique contribution to the theology of Theodore of Mopsuestia, whom the Nestorian Syrians regard as the Interpreter *par excellence*, and to the history of the Christological controversies in the fifth century. The two documents in Vol. III are also of great importance. The *Vision of Theophilus* completes other apocrypha published by Wright, Budge, and Mrs. Lewis, and the *Apocalypse of Peter* adds much to our knowledge of the so-called Clementine literature. The photographic reproduction of the major part of the Garshūni text of this Apocalypse is very interesting from a paleographical standpoint; from it alone the student may easily learn at first hand how the Syrians, with their twenty-two letters and a few diacritical signs, managed to transliterate into their own script the twenty-eight characters of the Arabic alphabet.

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*Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East.* By MARGARET SMITH, M. A., Ph. D. London: THE SHELDON PRESS. New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1931. Pp. x + 276.

In this volume the author has presented in a careful study the teachings of early Christian and early Muhammedan mysticism.

The book is divided in two parts, the first of which deals with early Christian asceticism and mysticism, while the second part has as its subject the origin and development of Islamic mysticism as represented by early Ṣūfism. Chapter X is devoted to a more detailed treatment of the teachings of four of the leading early mystics, *viz.*, Rābi'a al-'Adawīyya of Baṣra (A. D. 717-801); Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (781-857); Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī (*ob.* 860) and Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī (*ob.* 875).

In this interesting study of early Ṣūfism we have once again the clear demonstration that the deep things of God are not the prerogative of any one creed or nation, but are scattered over the whole field of humanity. One might look upon the various forms and teachings of early mysticism, Christian and Ṣūfī, regarding them collectively, as a string of pearls of different sizes, hence of different values, each radiating its own inner light for the spiritual illumination of all those who have seeing eyes and an understanding heart. The unveiling of the Holy Grail can only be performed by the "Guileless Fool."

Whatever one's creed, the spiritually minded man cannot fail to be deeply impressed by the mystic teaching of the early Ṣūfis, by their constant demand for purity of thought, purity of life, self-discipline, repentance, and personal holiness, without which God can neither be seen nor the soul receive that divine illumination which is the goal of the quest on which the mystic has embarked. The fact that the roots of Ṣūfism probably go back, at least in the main, to the teaching of the early Oriental Christian mystics (p. 254) detracts in no way from its importance as a great spiritual movement in Islām. It is well to remember that early Ṣūfism taught these noble ideals long before the Christian Church in the West had its recognized mystics.

The time is past when Muhammad's teachings were attributed to the inspiration of Satan, even by scholars, but, unfortunately, one hears it still too often said, in a deprecatory manner in allusion to Muhammadanism, "by their fruits ye shall know them." It is quite true that there are in Islām some serious shortcomings. Muhammad himself did not continue to live upon the exalted plane for the pure and lofty aspirations of the earlier years of his ministry. Yet we must not forget that, although Ṣūfism is not a direct fruit of Islām, it helped to produce these deeply spiritual teachers,

both men and women, who experienced in their own souls what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height of God's revelation to the humble heart.

Dr. Smith has rendered a great service to all those who are interested in the spiritual things of life by presenting in a lucid manner the tenets of mysticism as voiced by the early Oriental Christian and early Šūfī mystics. Although the book is written for the general, educated public, it is the work of a scholar, who has not only a thorough knowledge, but also a sympathetic understanding of the subject. Students of Oriental mysticism will welcome it as a distinct contribution toward a just valuation of this important movement in Islām. As the author quotes freely from her Oriental sources, and sometimes gives extensive excerpts, no specialist knowledge is required to enjoy fully the reading of this well written book. It should be of special interest to the clergy of every creed to whom the mysteries of God's dealings with mankind are not limited to what may be found between the covers of any particular volume. A good Index and Bibliography add greatly to the usefulness of the book, and to the further study of this important and exceedingly interesting subject.

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*Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates.* By  
Lt.-Colonel Sir WOLSELEY HAIG. London, 1932. Pp. 31

This booklet seems to be the well known *Vergleichungs-Tabellen*, by Wüstenfeld-Mahler, split up into its component parts, thereby making three Tables out of one. While the *Vergleichungs-Tabellen* give at a glance the desired date, even the day of the week, the use of Haig's Comparative Tables requires an elaborate calculation involving reference to all three Tables. The explanation, given by the author, of how to find the date in the Christian era corresponding to Ramadan 5 A. H. 966, requires no less than 12 printed lines (p. 4). All this calculation one would have expected the author to make and to embody its results in his Tables, which would thereby have been reduced to one Table, giving the complete data. In view of the excellent and complete *Vergleichungs-Tabellen* there appears to be no excuse for the publication of these *Comparative Tables*.

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*Josephus the Man and the Historian.* By H. St. JOHN THACKERAY with a preface by GEORGE FOOT MOORE. The Hilda Stich Strook Lectures. New York: JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION PRESS, 1929. Pp. ix + 160.

This volume by the late H. St. John Thackeray is a model of thorough scholarship and literary excellence. As translator of Josephus for the Loeb Classical Library and as author of a concordantial "Lexicon of the Greek 'Josephus'," now in the process of publication by the Kohut Foundation, Thackeray brings to this work an unexcelled knowledge of the subject, and offers a convenient summary of his conclusions in a masterful form.

In the first lecture on the life and character of Josephus, Thackeray has no easy task in furnishing a balanced estimate of his hero. Josephus suffers from too many defects to be counted among the noble sons of his race. Thackeray recognizes his egotism, self-centeredness, and flattery of his Roman patrons, but seeks to demonstrate also some of his sterling merits. Contrary to the general view, Thackeray thinks that Josephus "has surely earned the name patriot", largely because of his service to the Jewish people as historian and apologete. This claim is justified only on the ground of the *Antiquities* and *Contra Apionem*, but not by the *Jewish War*. In his penetrating lecture on the Jewish War, Thackeray himself accepts Laquer's opinion that it was written at the order of the Roman conquerors for propagandist purposes and exhibits throughout the Roman point of view. The original Aramaic edition was prepared for eastern readers in order to demonstrate to the vanquished Jews and to other nations, like the Parthians, the futility of revolts against Rome. The first Greek draft, the *Halosis*, was perhaps issued in time for the imperial triumph in 71. The more elaborate edition, the *Polemos*, appeared during the reign of Domitian. Its chief source were the Latin "memoirs" or "commentaries" of the Roman commanders, Vespasian and Titus. They seem to have been utilized also by Tacitus in the fifth book of his *Histories*, and form the basis of Books III-VI of the *War*. The story of the pre-war period was compiled from the writings of Nikolaos of Damascus and from official documents preserved in Rome.

Though enjoying as unusual a combination of opportunities for presenting an accurate report as has fallen to few war historians

of either ancient or modern times, Josephus failed to reach the highest standard. He lacks the sober impartiality of a Thucydides, and shows insufficient regard for truth. He views the campaign through Roman spectacles, lavishes undue praise upon his patron, Titus, and misrepresents details in order to ingratiate himself with his other patron, King Agrippa II. However, though one-sided, the *War* "in its main outline must be accepted as trustworthy. Considered as a work of art, it takes high rank in literature." If in the *Jewish War* Josephus offended the susceptibilities of his Jewish brethren, he set out to make amends in his *Jewish Antiquities*, by showing that the Jews had a history comparable, and as regards antiquity superior, to that of their conquerors. In this work Thackeray recognizes a counterpart to the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, written a century earlier, also in twenty books. Dionysius is the immediate model of Josephus not only in the general plan of the work but also in the treatment of numerous details. The invaluable state papers, in the latter half of the *Antiquities*, were sent up to Rome from the various provinces at the order of Vespasian when he undertook to restore the Roman Capitol, which with its library had been ruined in the conflicts of the year 69. The provincial officers probably returned all the instructions which were received from Roman governors. In Rome they were inspected and copied or rather translated by one of the author's able assistants.

The lecture on "Josephus and Judaism" is concerned chiefly with the Biblical text employed by the historian. Thackeray traces at least two texts, one in a Semitic language, the other in Greek. The Semitic text served as his main authority throughout the Pentateuch, the Septuagint being used but slightly. From Samuel to I Maccabees the position is reversed. The basis is the Greek Bible and the Semitic is only a subsidiary source. For the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, Thackeray finds no certain evidence of the use of a Greek text. As between Hebrew and Aramaic, he suspects in Judges at least dependence on a Targum. The Greek text uniformly utilized by Josephus is the Lucianic or pre-Lucianic recension.

Strikingly original is the lecture on "Josephus and Hellenism." Here Thackeray goes out in quest of the unacknowledged literary assistants of Josephus, who not only polished his periods but also composed large portions of the narrative. Thackeray detects in

Books XV and XVI of the *Antiquities* the marks of an assistant of fine literary taste, as was the case with the *War*, while in Books XVII-XIX he finds "the idiosyncracies and pedantic tricks of a hack, an imitator of Thucydides."

The last lecture deals with "Josephus and Christianity." The allusions to Christian beginnings in *Antiquities* XVIII, 5, 2 (116-119) and XX, 9, 1 (197-203) and the *testimonium Flavianum* regarding Jesus in XVIII, 3, 3 (63-64) are treated with utmost care and restraint. On the problem of the relation of the Slavonic version of the war to the lost Aramaic original and of its references to Christianity Thackeray suspends judgment. While directing his readers to Dr. Eisler's work on the subject, he adds that much as he learned from Eisler, he is far from being converted to all of his revolutionary views.

"The lectures as a whole", as George Foot Moore remarks in his preface, "are a notable contribution to the subject with which they deal." From a master like Thackeray additional light would have been most welcome on the Judaism of Josephus and on the Hellenistic coloring of his treatment of Jewish history and religion.

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*Sardis*, VII, 1: *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*. By W. H. BUCKLER and D. M. ROBINSON. Leyden: 1932. 4to. Pp. ii + 198, with XIII plates and 212 figures in the text.

Volume VI, 1 and 2, of the Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, *Lydian Inscriptions*, by E. Littmann and others, was published in 1916 and 1924. Now Pt. 1 of the long delayed corpus of Greek and Roman inscriptions has appeared, made possible in part by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies.

The work treats 231 inscriptions—serial Nos. 1-228—ranging in date from the fifth century B. C. (102) to the tenth or eleventh A. D. (176). Of these 106 had already been published, six of which are now re-edited in complete form, while twenty-five others are based on new copies. Since many inscribed stones collected in the "Museum" at Sardis during the excavations in and around the Temple of Artemis in 1910-14 and again during the short

campaign of 1922 disappeared during the military operations of 1920-22, some of the texts have been taken from squeezes and photographs made at the time of finding. The relatively small number of inscriptions found on so famous a site is explained by the long time during which the precinct lay uncovered and by the local demand for building-stone.

The material is conveniently presented in five groups, the inscriptions of each group being arranged chronologically: Documents and Public Records, the most important group (1-20); Honorific Texts (21-84); Votive Texts and Dedications (85-101b); Sepulchral Inscriptions, by far the largest of all (102-176); and Miscellaneous Texts and Fragments (177-228). While no inscription of outstanding historical importance has been found, there are many, especially in Group 1, which are of value and interest. Thus No. 1, pp. 1-7, Pls. I-II, from a stone found inside the temple in 1910 and dating from c. 200 B. C., is republished from *AJA* XVI, 1912, 11-82. It describes a temple mortgage securing a loan on lands to a certain Mnesimachos and has interesting legal features. No. 8, the longest inscription in the book, pp. 16-27, Pl. IV, also republished from the same Journal, XVIII, 1914, 322-62, contains twelve documents concerning a certain Menogenes of Sardis which date from 5-1 B. C.—three letters, one from Augustus to the Sardians, and nine decrees of the commonalty of Asia or the Council of Sardis, an interesting record in the history of the Roman province of Asia.

The honorific texts refer to Roman emperors and their relatives—Tiberius (34), Claudius (39), Antoninus Pius (58), Septimius Severus (71 and 73), Severus Alexander (72), Drusus, son of Germanicus (33), Antonia, mother of Claudius (37), Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius (59)—or to prominent persons, *e. g.*, "The sacred head of Cicero" (49) dedicated in the middle of the second century, priestesses of Artemis (50-54) and Athena (55), a proconsul (36), a procurator (60), and various athletes. Among the later is a statue base inscribed on three sides in honor of a certain boxer and pancratiast, Demonstratos Damas (79, a, b, c, pp. 83-7, Pl. XII, figs. 66-7) of the time of Caracalla. It was found in 1905 on the site of the ancient stadium and was first published by Keil and von Premerstein. From it and five other memorials of the same athlete found elsewhere, we learn that he was a professional pothunter—a common athletic figure in Roman days—who boasted

of twenty victories as a boy and forty-eight as a man, and withal that he was a *periodonikes*, or winner of prizes at all four national games of Greece at least twice.

The sepulchral inscriptions come from stelae, slabs, gravestones, tombs, vases, lids of cinerary urns, chests, and sarcophagi, and include epitaphs to soldiers (140-1), a physician (142), a gladiator (162), etc. Several are Christian dating down as far as the tenth or eleventh centuries. A slab, now lost, but known from copies made by Cockerell in 1811 and Rayet in 1874, presents a good example of a pagan curse (152, figs. 136-7), which calls down on an enemy the wrath of all the gods, the loss of property and eyesight, and concludes, "may utter perdition befall him after death". A Christian imprecation is against anyone else being buried in the owner's tomb (164, fig. 150). The miscellaneous inscriptions are from various objects—temple slabs, column drums, tiles (177-186), a boundary stone (191), a table-leg (192), earthenware lamps, jars, shoes, utensils, etc. (219-25). Some are Christian (188-90) and one on a doorjamb, discovered in 1919 (187, fig. 174), is in both Greek and Latin, and memorializes a Jewess of the third or fourth century.

There are seven excellent indexes (pp. 171-194) and a concordance (pp. 195-8). The plates and text-cuts are distinct and the Greek font used throughout the text is easily read. Typographical errors are almost non-existent, and the scholarly way in which the epigraphical work has been done certainly reverses the recently expressed opinion of Sir William Ramsay about one of the distinguished authors. It is valuable to have so accurate an edition of all known Sardian inscriptions in such available form.

Pt. 2 will contain, together with *testimonia* relating to Sardis, the *Diaries of Robt. Wood and his Friends*, notes taken at Sardis in 1750 and now in the library of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and the plates necessary to illustrate them.

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*Origin and Growth of Caste in India.* By N. K. DUTT. London: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER AND COMPANY, LTD., 1931. Pp. xi + 310.

*Caste and Race in India.* By G. S. GHURYE. New York: ALFRED A. KNOPF, 1932. Pp. 209.

*Indian Caste Customs.* By L. S. S. O'MALLEY. Cambridge: UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1932. Pp. ix + 190.

Professor Dutt has undertaken to survey the literature of Brahmanism for the purpose of discovering the origin and tracing the development of the caste system of India. His completed work will comprise three volumes (of which this is the first), covering the periods 2,000 B. C. to 300 B. C., 300 B. C. to 1200 A. D. and 1200 A. D. to 1900 A. D. The literature covered in the first volume includes the Veda and the Sūtras. A chapter is added giving "Verifications from non-Brahmanical Writings," which includes "Caste in Early Buddhist Literature" and "Caste in Greek Accounts." Taking into consideration the wide social implications of the caste system, the author covers a considerable number of topics for each literary period. These subjects are: pretensions of the Brahmans, the changing status of the Vāīśya, the Dāsa-Śūdra, food and drink, rules of marriage, child marriage, remarriage of women, position of women, ceremonial purity, defilement by touch, and legal rights of women.

The author rejects Risley's theory of the Persian origin of the caste idea. Senart's position that caste is the normal development of ancient Aryan institutions is questioned on the grounds that *gotra* is only one form of exogamy; and that the restrictions on inter-caste or inter-class marriage, the idea of pollution by touch with the lower classes, and the prohibition of inter-caste dining were absent in the earlier *Vedic* period. History shows, he says, that the development of inter-caste marriage restrictions was principally due to local racial differences. Cultural and tribal differences were influential in India even before the arrival of the Āryans, as "between the civilized Dravidians and the savage pre-Dravidians." "Thus the practices of the conquered aborigines contributed as much to the development of caste as the racial and class prejudices of the Aryan conquerers."

In the Rig Veda the constant association of the names of priests

and kings in the hymns bespeaks a somewhat closer relation between the two higher classes, while a much wider gulf divides the Brahmans from the commoners, the Vāiśyas. The widest division lay between the three Aryan groups and the fourth. Other differences "were nothing compared with those which distinguished ethnically and culturally the Aryans . . . from the Dāsas or Dasyus." Gradually a humane principle was evolved which relegated the Dasyu to service rather than to death. In later times Śūdra denoted slave. Yet there is no evidence that the Śūdras were regarded as unclean. In the Rig Veda *gotra* never denotes a clan or gens. Two forms of marriage only were forbidden, in both cases to prevent incest. Mixed castes were not yet formed, nor is there mention of a fifth, or untouchable, caste. Child marriage is not mentioned and there was no aversion to the remarriage of women. Polyandry went out of fashion, but polygamy continued common. Woman was a sort of chattel, yet, relatively (to later times), she was not degraded. In religious ceremonies she was an equal partner with her husband.

With the Brāhmaṇas the priest becomes a master of ceremonies; the Śūdra becomes a serf; savage tribes, very low in the scale of civilization and with revolting habits and standards of living, begin to form a new order, a fifth *varṇa*. Large numbers of Aryans, partly through mixture of blood and partly on account of their employment along with Śūdras in industrial professions, eventually found place as mixed castes. Emphasis is laid upon special rules "prescribed for the guidance of the different castes, which tended, by making the different classes conform to different habits, rules of etiquette, etc., to widen the separation between the different castes even among the community of the Aryan conquerors." Barriers thus raised between classes were particularly effective against the Vāiśyas, who were being assimilated to the Śūdra as forming a group over against the Brahman and Kṣatriya. Their (Vāiśya) blood was contaminated on a large scale. On the other hand, as the aboriginal groups became part of the social order, the Śūdra's position was enhanced. Definite groups of the pre-Dravidian outcastes are mentioned, such as Caṇḍāla and Pāulkasa. Exogamy becomes a practice. The woman and the Śūdra are grouped together as embodying impurity. In this period "we come across for the first time mentions of ceremonial purity and impurity attaching to cer-

tain persons or castes on sacrificial grounds. This arose out of the distinction between the initiated and the uninitiated, the non-Aryans being uninitiated and unendowed with the sacrificial girdle."

The period of the Sūtras is full of significance. "The principal distinction . . . is that between the twice-born and the once-born, which though practically retaining the old distinctions between the conquerers and the natives, was more sacramental and social than racial. . . . The gaps between the major orders of society were greatly widened." Kṣatriya now means not only ruling class but also the occupation of fighting. Not all warriors are Kṣatriyas. The status of the Śūdra is much improved. The line of demarcation between the occupations of Vāiśyas and Śūdras grows fainter. Rules regarding defilement are elaborated, hedging in the liberty of the higher castes. With this go new restrictions about food, and vegetarianism is on the increase. Still, food cooked by Śūdras is not objectionable. There is emphasis on actions causing loss of caste, including certain social relationships, sea voyages, dealing in forbidden merchandise, serving Śūdras, *prati-loma* marriages involving Śūdra women. Early marriage becomes more desirable. "The marriage of widows, though not entirely prohibited, is spoken of disapprovingly by all the law givers."

In the final chapter an interesting comment is made by the author: "The early Buddhist writings practically confirm the description of the Brahman caste as given in the Sūtras and concede to the Brahmans the three exclusive privileges of teaching, performing sacrifices for others, and receiving gifts." We find close relations between Brahmans and Kṣatriyas. "The words Vessa and Sudda occur very seldom in the Jātaka literature and are used only when a theoretical discussion of the caste system is made, and not to mean existing social groups." Untouchables are unknown in this literature.

This volume contains a comprehensive and thorough study of the literature under review.

Dr. Ghurye, in his study of caste, has a different aim from that of Dr. Dutt. He brings anthropological data to bear upon the element of *race* in caste. He covers the whole of the Brahmanic literature in two chapters under the title: "Caste through the Ages." Both of the writers are in fair agreement in their con-



clusions. However, Dr. Ghurye holds that the accounts of mixed castes do not accord with the facts: "We have opined that the theory of mixed castes, as expanded by the contemporary writers, marks the numerous groups that had come into existence."

The author introduces much ethnographical data yielding many informing sidelights on the history of the castes and making for human interest. After describing the well-known outstanding features of the caste system, Dr. Ghurye goes on to say of the divisions of society: "If we are to take some kind of Indian sentiment as our guide in our analysis, then, as according to the orthodox theory on this matter there are only two or at most three castes, Brahman and Śūdra, or at the most three, where the existence of the Kṣatriya is grudgingly granted." And he adds, "There is ample reason why, to get a sociologically correct idea of the institution, we should recognize sub-castes as real castes." "The status in the hierarchy of any sub-caste depends upon the status of the caste, from which follow the various civil and religious rights and disabilities, and the traditional occupation is determined by the nature of the caste. The other three features, which are very material in the consideration of a group from the point of view of an effective social life, viz., those that regulate communal life and prescribe rules as regard feeding, social intercourse and endogamy, belong to the sub-caste."

In his chapter on "Race and Caste," the author reviews the various theories that have been proposed by European writers, and makes a study of anthropometrical data. He is here on uncertain and difficult ground. He finds that the Brahman of the United Provinces does not differ materially from the physical type of the Panjab. "The Chamār and the Pāsi, whom we may look upon as the Hinduised representatives of the aborigines, stand far removed from him (the Brahman of the United Provinces). This is just the situation that should have resulted from the regulations which were being promulgated by the Brahmans to avoid their class being contaminated by the infusion of the aboriginal blood. The evidence from the literature is thus amply corroborated by the physical facts. Restrictions on marriage of a fundamentally endogamous nature were thus racial in origin." "It is not necessary to postulate a second invasion of the Aryans, who could not bring their women folk with them. Nor need we propose a theory entirely contradictory to the literary records of the Brahmans." Moreover, "In

Hindustan . . . the gradation of physical types from the Brahman downwards to Musahar corresponds very closely to the scheme of social precedence prevailing among the Hindustani castes. This state of things can be the result only of such regulations that prevented the possibility of Brahman blood being mixed with aboriginal blood but allowed the mixture of blood of the other groups in varying proportions. As we have seen, this is just what the Brahmans attempted to do by their rules of conduct." "The Brahmanistic practice of endogamy must have been developed in Hindustan and thence conveyed as a cultural trait to the other areas without a large influx of the physical type of the Hindustani Brahmans."

The beginnings of the Indian system rest in the movement against the Śūdra debarring him from religious worship and debarring his women from marriage with the Aryans. The opposition between Ārya and Dāsa is replaced by that between twice-born and once-born. Then exaggerated notions of social impurity and meticulous restrictions in ritual arose. Restrictions on food and water widen the gulf which separates the Brahman from others. With the assimilation of the Vāīśya to the Śūdra, Vāīśya females are assigned a different status. Restrictions in marriage aim at preservation of purity of blood. Functional differentiation in society issues in separate occupational groups with more or less distinct interests. Occupations became endogenous groups. Customary etiquette becomes a mark of caste distinction. Special rights are gained for the higher classes and disabilities for the lower.

Mr. O'Malley does not undertake to investigate either the racial or the historical aspects of the system of caste. Rather, he deals with the Indian social order as a living institution and examines it from the standpoint of living custom. In other words, he shows how caste functions, how custom supplies sanctions and regulations for its every-day, every-contingency need. Consequently he deals not with theory but with fact. The chapter headings suggest the range and the method of his treatment: "Caste Government," "External Control," "Penalties," "Marriage and Morals," "Food and Drink," "Occupations," "The Untouchables," and "Modern Tendencies." This excellent volume shows what caste looks like and how it handles the social and economic problems of the day. It presents the Western reader with brief and accurate answers to

many of his questions. Nowhere else in such concise and accurate terms can be found an account of the every-day life of the Indian under caste-regulation.

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*The Keys of Power.* By J. ABBOTT, B. A. (Oxon.). New York: E. P. DUTTON AND COMPANY, INC., 1932. Pp. xi + 560.

The primitive belief in power (*śakti*, *kudrat*); the various concepts of a diffused, supernatural, cosmic power found in objects animate and inanimate, in words, in man, and in superior beings; the conviction that it has possibilities for good and evil; the possession of merit (*punya*) which results from its good effects; and the techniques for its control, form the framework for the mass of detailed information which fills the pages of this most interesting volume. This power is described as it is found in man, woman, the evil eye, ground, water, fire, metals, salt, stones, time, colors, numbers, sweet things, trees, weather, ritual of agriculture, grain, bread, animals, spirits, curses, and oaths. The author extends the discussion to the invocation of power, totemism and the Marāthā "Devak" and the destruction of power. Appendices deal with Hindu and Muhammadan charms, Hindu festivals on which certain forms of *himsā* are forbidden or allowed, *utāra* in the Deccan, restrictions on inter-marriage between *kul* of the Kātkarīs and the power of the cardinal points. The keys of power are the techniques evolved for its control. The volume is a veritable storehouse of information, drawn from the common life of western India and Sind, almost every sentence of which is a separate item bearing upon some aspect of the subject. The book is a most excellent example of first-hand, carefully organized work in the field of folklore.

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*Somanātha and Other Mediaeval temples in Kāṭhiāwāḍ.* By HENRY COUSENS. Calcutta: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, IMPERIAL SERIES, Vol. XLV, 1931. Pp. 92, 106 Plates.

This is another of Mr. Cousens' sketchy compilations, constituting an impressive volume containing hardly anything new. How much more useful would have been an entire volume devoted to the temple at Gop, and the related types at Bileśvara, Viśāvāda, etc.! Gop and Vileśvara are each dismissed in a single page: the two old photographs of Gop are reproduced, where we ought to have had a dozen plates illustrating detail. The discussion is often uninformed, for example, when the piled up window niches of reduplicated roofing elements are treated (p. 7), as prototypes of the superimposed arch forms of the so-called "temple symbol" ("chaitya symbol" of older numismatologists) on early Indian coins: without regard to the fact that it has been shown repeatedly that this is a "mountain symbol," or to the fact that its appearance on coins antedates by many centuries the later development of pyramidal roofing by reduplication, from which it is supposed to be derived. The description of the installation of a Jaina image (p. 82 f.), is more poetical than informing. In the glossary, there are misprints (śivatsa, sabha-maṇḍapa, Samkara, Rāvi, etc.), and errors of definition: *makara*, "probably the rhinoceros" is ludicrous (at least five major discussions of the *makara* have been published within the last few years), *choli* is a bodice rather than a jacket, the "arched-roofed caves of the Buddhists" are not *chaitya* but *chaitya-grha*, nor is a *chaitya* anything specifically Buddhist, but any object of cult worship, more often than not a sacred tree.

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*Catalogue of the South Indian Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum.* By F. H. GRAVELY and T. N. RAMACHANDRAN. Madras: Bull. MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM, Vol. I, Pt. 2, 1932. Pp. 144 and 23 Plates.

The authors and the Museum are to be congratulated on this welcome issue. The Madras collections of South Indian images are by far the largest and in many respects the best assembled in any one place. The Catalogue makes known many which had hitherto

been unpublished, and illustrates all with adequate iconographic description and identification.

The discussion of the dating, despite the indefiniteness of the conclusions, constitutes a real advance in comprehension of the stylistic development. No example can be shown to be of Pallava date, though the school may be thought of as ultimately of Pallava origin; images for which a late Pallava date have been claimed with some show of plausibility are Mr. Treasurywala's Pārvatī, published by Kramrisch in *Rūpam*, April, 1930, and the far finer Pārvatī or Queen in the Freer Gallery, published by myself in *Rūpam*, January, 1930, and *Pantheon*, Vol. VI, 1930 (this image may well be earlier than the date suggested, about 1100 A. D.). Only one known example bears an actual date, that is Naṭeśa No. 2. (Pl. XVI, fig. 2) from Belūr, of date equivalent to A. D. 1510/11; this example is not far removed stylistically from those of the "Chola type." This "Chola type" is established (p. 30 f.) on the basis of the palaeography, details, and associations of four inscribed images, viz. Kālī No. 6 (Pl. XIV, fig. 1), two effigies at Kalahasti (published by Aravamuthan, *Portrait Sculpture in South India*, 1931, pp. 37, 41, figs. 12, 16), and a Candraśekhara in the Musée Guimet (Pl. XII, figs. 1, 2); a group of inscribed Buddhist images from Negapatam (to be published in a subsequent *Bulletin*); and images from Śiva Devāle No. 5, Poḷonnāruva, Ceylon (my *Bronzes from Ceylon*, Mem. Colombo Museum, A I, 1914). This type is "completely conventionalised" and characterised by "a smooth roundness in the treatment of the face" and "simplicity of decorative detail," especially as regards the necklaces, which are broad and circular rather than elongated; the group is further predominantly Śaiva. Jouveau-Dubreuil's earlier conclusions with respect to the stylistic development mainly of Vaiṣṇava images are conveniently tabulated (p. 41), and in the main confirmed. The development of more elaborated types takes place about the beginning of the Vijayanagar period, but no hard and fast lines can be drawn.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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At the Society's meetings in New York the Directors appropriated money for the publication of monographs. Such material should be submitted at once to the editors of the JOURNAL, at Box 17, Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

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### AN EXPLANATION

In consequence of a misunderstanding of the editors of this JOURNAL, the editors of *Eastern Art*, and Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, the JOURNAL published in Volume 52, part 4 (December, 1932) an article by Baron von Staël-Holstein entitled "Notes on Two Lama Paintings" at the same time when a revised version of the same article entitled "On Two Tibetan Pictures representing Some of the Spiritual Ancestors of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Lama" appeared in the *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping*, December, 1932.

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## PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF SOME OF THE GREAT ORIENTAL RELIGIONS \*

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TEN YEARS ago the American Oriental Society held its annual meeting in Chicago. As it then celebrated its eightieth anniversary and it fell to my lot to preside, I devoted the Presidential Address to a sketch of "Early Oriental Studies in Europe and the Work of the American Oriental Society 1842-1922."<sup>1</sup> It would, no doubt, be appropriate to continue this sketch today, when I have the honor of presiding once more. But the discoveries of the last ninety years have been so numerous, and the achievements of Oriental scholarship so great, that neither the time allowed for this address nor the ability of the speaker to survey so large a field would justify the attempt. Such a task, if it should seem desirable, may well be left for the centenary in 1942 and the scholar presiding on that occasion.

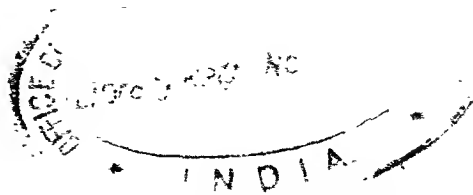
It may be helpful, however, to call attention, even though it be of necessity briefly, to the effect that some of these discoveries, and the ever more exacting methods of historical research, have had on our present approach to the problems concerning the origin of some of the great Oriental religions.

Exploration and excavation have brought to light an immense amount of ancient records preserved in practically their original form, dealing with strictly contemporaneous personalities, events, and conditions. Thus, to mention some of the most significant, we have cuneiform texts in a variety of languages: Sumerian, Akkadian, Assyrian, Elamitic, Persian, Chaldian, Hittite, Hurrian, and today even Phoenician. There is an abundance of Egyptian records, hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic, as well as Nubian that can now be read, and Aramaic and Greek papyri. Arabia has yielded numerous inscriptions in Minæan, Sabæan, Katabanian, Hadramautian, and Himyaritic, in Safaitic, Thamudene, and Lihyanian, and in later Arabic. In Syria and Palestine, Phoeni-

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\* Presidential Address, delivered at the meeting of the SOCIETY in Chicago, March 27, 1932.

<sup>1</sup> JOURNAL, 43-1 ff.



cian, Hebrew, Moabitic, and Aramaic inscriptions have been found, and on the Sinaitic peninsula as well as in South Palestine inscriptions in a very early form of the alphabet.

Though the Aegean scripts and the Hittite hieroglyphs still puzzle the investigators, some progress has recently been made that warrants the hope of satisfactory decipherments in a not distant future. The excavations of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa have revealed a civilization in the Indus valley, already far advanced in the beginning of the third millennium B. C., possessing a system of writing to which the clue will, no doubt, be found. In Turkestan and in Kan-su texts were discovered in Tocharian, Soghdian, Scythian, and Uighuric as well as Chinese, Sanskrit, Pahlavi, and Tibetan. Those in hitherto unknown languages have been read and interpreted in a remarkably short time. The special importance of the Manichaean documents was quickly recognized, and has been presented in an admirable manner by A. V. Williams Jackson in a volume just published.<sup>2</sup> Tortoise shells found in 1898-99, when the overflow of the river Yuan carried away some terraces in a town near Ngan-yang-hien, north of Hoang-ho in the province of Honan, were seen to bear inscriptions in archaic Chinese referring to rulers of the Yin dynasty, dated approximately 1100 B. C. These, and the inscriptions on bronze urns attributed to the same dynasty seem to be earlier than any other known literary productions of the Chinese.

It is evident that even records of this sort must be subjected to rigorous examination. A statement cannot be taken at its face value simply because we happen to have it in its original form. Obvious exaggerations characterize the very earliest Egyptian inscriptions. Kings appropriated the boastful accounts of their predecessors. Assyrian rulers did not themselves write their annals or dictate them; their scribes knew what was expected of them, followed older models, and wrote for the greater glory of the king and the gods. Drawn battles and defeats became victories; false claims may sometimes be detected when accounts appear from the other side. Display-inscriptions, eulogies, and censures, numbers, chronological statements, summaries of past events, lists of kings and dynasties demand particular scrutiny.

Nevertheless, the value of this epigraphic material is incon-

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<sup>2</sup> *Researches in Manichaeism*, 1932.

testably very great. It has furnished an outline of long stretches of history hitherto unknown, has thrown a strong light on certain periods, and has helped to establish a more reliable chronology. Allusions in one field to personalities and events in another, particularly when casual and disinterested, have been exceedingly helpful. The archaeological remains have, in a striking manner, supplemented our knowledge of social customs and economic conditions in the past. For the earliest epochs of man's life, to which the historian of antiquity is today obliged to go back everywhere, they are our only sources. Though silent, they are scarcely less important for periods made vocal by the written word. They fill in the background of the picture. The dominant fashions in tools and weapons, vessels and playthings, dress and ornament indicate successive stages of development; the potsherds tell the tale of their age. When the Aegean systems of writing shall have yielded up their secrets, the chronological framework, within which persons and events may be placed, will already be there.

Intense occupation with sources of this kind has naturally tended to create not only an eager search for and dependence upon them, but also a certain distrust of late documents, as a rule extant solely in much later copies and subject to all the vicissitudes of manuscripts, and of texts long transmitted only by word of mouth. Thus the work of the spade has been a challenge to oriental scholarship to perfect its methods in dealing with such documents and traditions. The results have been, on the one hand, a more searching, circumspect, and resourceful criticism, and on the other hand, a more cautious and tentative reconstruction of what is historically probable. The approach to the various problems has undergone a perceptible change, due in part to the new stimulus. There is somewhat more boldness in posing the questions, and yet more freedom from prejudice and bias; more striving after objectivity, and yet a more sympathetic treatment of the material, early or late.

This may perhaps be illustrated even in a brief discussion of some problems presenting themselves in connection with the beginnings of five great oriental religions. Its aim can obviously be only to point out certain lines of investigation that have been followed, and to suggest the possible significance of some of the results. For this purpose a group of reputed founders has been selected rather than merely one of them. It includes Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha,

Laotse, and Jesus. Another group, consisting of Confucius, Mahāvīra, Paul, Mani, and Muhammad might equally well have been chosen. But the fundamental questions would have been the same. They have to do with the existence of contemporary evidence, foreign or native, the trustworthiness of relatively early sources and the possible survival of original elements in later myths or legends, doctrinal systems or institutions.

Is there any evidence that Moses is an historic personality? Contemporary testimony has naturally been sought in Egypt and on the Sinaitic peninsula. The attempt of H. Heath<sup>3</sup> to find his name in Pap. Anastasi VI was deemed a failure by F. J. Chabas. This scholar himself regarded the *'priu* or *'pru* in Leiden Pap. 348, 349 a, b, and elsewhere, as designations of the Hebrews in Egypt.<sup>4</sup> His elaborate study of Pap. Anastasi I,<sup>5</sup> which he considered as an account of a journey actually undertaken by an Egyptian in Syria and Palestine, was criticised by H. Brugsch,<sup>6</sup> who became convinced that the author gives a sketch, rapidly traced and without geographical order, to show his colleague the difficulties of a projected journey, and to indicate his literary defects. This important observation did not prevent F. J. Lauth<sup>7</sup> from adhering to the views of Chabas and reaching the conclusion also that the Mohar whose travels were described was none else than Moses, and he found his name in a sentence which he rendered: "es ist nicht gut, O Moses! dass er es hört." As the papyrus seemed to belong to the reign of Ramses II, whom he dated about 1500 B. C., he inferred that Moses was a contemporary of this king, and that the Exodus took place in 1491. E. de Rougé<sup>8</sup> rejected Lauth's identification of *ms* with Mošeh, because of the different sibilant in the Hebrew rendering of the city-name Ra'amses (Ex. i, 11), but accepted Chabas' conjecture that *'priu* constituted contemporary evidence of the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt. A. Erman<sup>9</sup> followed Brugsch's suggestion and showed that Pap.

<sup>3</sup> *The Exodus Papyri*, 1855, not accessible to me, and not mentioned by Gardiner, but quoted by Chabas and Lauth.

<sup>4</sup> *Mélanges égyptologiques*, I, 1862, p. 42 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Voyage d'un égyptien*, 1866.

<sup>6</sup> *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, 1867, pp. 97 ff.; 145 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Moses der Ebraeer*, 1868.

<sup>8</sup> *Mémoires de la société française de la numismatique*, 1869, p. 1 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, II, 1885, p. 508 ff.

Anastasi I cannot be the account of a journey, but is a satirical epistle in which one scribe deals sarcastically with the accomplishments of another. A. H. Gardiner<sup>10</sup> translated I, 15, 8: "this is not good; let Mose hear of it, and he will send to destroy thee," and thought that *ms* here, as *msy* elsewhere, may have been used as an appellation or nickname of the Pharaoh. From an ostrakon in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, he was able to restore I, 18, 7, by adding the sentence: "Amen-ope, son of the steward Mose, the renowned." More recently Erman<sup>11</sup> has translated the text in full. The passage in which Lauth saw the name of Moses is now translated: "dies ist nicht schön, Bursche, er wird es hören," while the new fragment from the Paris ostrakon is rendered as Gardiner did. The father of the lampooned scribe is not identified with the Hebrew lawgiver. Mose, if that is the correct pronunciation, appears occasionally as a proper name.

The discoveries at Serabit al Khadim by Flinders Petrie and others have naturally aroused hope of fresh light from the monuments on the great figure associated with the Sinaitic peninsula. Among the scholars who have occupied themselves with the inscriptions, H. Grimme<sup>12</sup> deserves much credit for his part in the decipherment. But his interpretation of Inscr. 349 has not added to his reputation. It was understood by him to be an ex-voto, dedicated by Moses to Queen Hâtšepsut, in recognition of her favors, as she had drawn him out of the Nile and set him over the temple of Ma'na and Yahu in Sinai. The time when Moses wrote this inscription would be the beginning of the 15th century. In a later publication<sup>13</sup> he still keeps Hâtšepsut and Sinai and finds in the inscriptions references to Moses, his son Joseph-el, and his daughter Menaššeh, but drops the allusion to Ex. ii, 10. His deep concern is shown in these words: "Licht wird in diese Periode erst dann kommen, wenn es gelingt die biblischen Berichte vom Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten, vom Berge Sinai, und von der Persönlichkeit des Moses als glaubhafte Tradition zu erweisen." R. F. Butin,<sup>14</sup> a more cautious scholar, also reads in 349 and elsewhere *ms* as the name of the chief of the stelae-setters, and thinks that it

<sup>10</sup> *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, 1911.

<sup>11</sup> *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, 1923, p. 270 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Althebräische Inschriften von Sinai*, 1923.

<sup>13</sup> *Die altsinaitischen Buchstabeninschriften*, 1929.

<sup>14</sup> *Harvard Theological Review*, 21. 9 ff.

may have been pronounced either Maš (as in Gen. x, 23) or Moše. But since he considers that all the inscriptions come from the XIIth dynasty and ca. 1900, he cannot admit any connection between this official and the Hebrew Moses nor any trace of Sinai or Hātšepsut. M. Sprengling<sup>15</sup> emphatically rejects any reference to Moses and dates the inscriptions in the reign of Amen-em-hat III (1849-1801). In 349, he connects the two last letters of line 2 with the two first letters of line 3, reads מִשְׁעָר "from Se'ir," and assumes that the author of this alphabet lived in Edom. The value of the letters is now for the most part certain; but some of them are not very legible, and their division into words involves much conjecture. *M* and *š(s)* may or may not represent a name; the language may be Phoenician or some hitherto unknown Semitic dialect; Byblos, with its Ba'alath shrine, is perhaps more likely than Edom to be the home of the inventor. But all this has apparently nothing to do with Moses.<sup>16</sup>

A. T. Olmstead<sup>17</sup> would see in Yašuya, casually mentioned in one of the Amarna letters (K 256), an allusion to the biblical Joshua. Philologically, the only serious objection would be the absence of any representation of the laryngal. The earlier Aramaic name may have given way to the Hebrew theophorous form of the name, to come back after the change in the vernaculars. The laryngal, however, is retained in the Aramaic, while it naturally disappears in the Greek. It is not clear, in spite of the accompanying names, whether Yašuya belongs to the Ḥabiru, now generally recognized as Hebrews in the wider sense, though the ethnic character of these bands of rovers, found in Babylonia, Arrapachitis, and Anatolia as well as in Syria and Palestine, is far from certain. If the identification should happen to be correct, little information would be obtained concerning Joshua except that his date would be in the beginning of the 14th century when, accord-

<sup>15</sup> *The Alphabet. its Rise and Development from the Sinaitic Inscriptions*, 1931.

<sup>16</sup> In *Harvard Theological Review*, 25. 130 ff., Butin has published excellent facsimiles and made further contributions. He still finds *M š* as a proper noun in several places. The Lebanani (352, and possibly 349) is important as showing whence some of the men came. May not names like מִשְׁעָר and מִשְׁעָר be compared with מִשְׁעָר and מִשְׁעָר in Gen. xiv. 2 which, after all, may be genuine Canaanite or Amorite names? Is מִשְׁעָר a "stone-splitter" from the Lebanon region?

<sup>17</sup> *History of Palestine and Syria*, 1931, pp. 188, 197.

ing to the conclusions of some archaeologists, Jericho was destroyed. In that case it would be necessary either to look for Moses in the 15th century or utterly to reject the tradition that places him before Joshua, and to conjecture that he lived several generations later in the time of Ramses II (ca. 1300-1234) and Merneptah (1234-1222), whose famous inscription represents "Israel" as settled in Palestine. Of Moses himself there is no evidence today any more than I could find some forty years ago.<sup>18</sup>

At first sight the native sources would appear to be more promising. We now know from the discoveries at Ras eš-Šamra that about the middle of the second millennium significant religious texts were written even in the language of Canaan in a simplified cuneiform script apparently based on the alphabet; and from the Serabit inscriptions we have learned that possibly some centuries earlier a predecessor of the Phoenician alphabet, fully developed in the 13th century, was already in use. It is, therefore, no longer possible to argue that Moses, whether in the 15th or the 13th century, could not have written some documents preserved in the Pentateuch, because he was necessarily unacquainted with a script which succeeding generations in Palestine would have been capable of reading. But, whatever views one may hold as to the validity of the current system of Pentateuchal analysis and the tentative dates affixed to the various documents, it is obvious that this great work reflects throughout the settled life of Israel in Palestine in the course of many centuries. When an attempt is made to piece together the story of Moses' life, it is readily seen that the picture is so overlaid with incredible features that little or nothing remains for which unquestioned originality can be claimed. After all legislative codes, all lyrics, all aetiologial sagas have been carefully explained and discarded there is scarcely any residue left even by such scholars as H. Gunkel,<sup>19</sup> C. H. Cornill,<sup>20</sup> and H. Gressmann,<sup>21</sup> except a few incidents that seem to admit of the same explanation and general considerations of doubtful force.<sup>22</sup> No wonder that Eduard Meyer complains: "Among those who treat him

<sup>18</sup> "The External Evidence of the Exodus," *Hebraica*, 1894.

<sup>19</sup> "Moses," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1913.

<sup>20</sup> *Moses*, 1908.

<sup>21</sup> *Mose und seine Zeit*, 1913.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. my article on Moses in *The New International Encyclopaedia*,<sup>3</sup> 1913.



as an historical figure none has been able to give him any content, to present him as a concrete individual, or to indicate anything he did, or wherein his historic work consisted; since to say that he made the statement that Yahwe was Israel's god is only to use an empty and meaningless phrase."<sup>23</sup> He regards him as "a figure of the genealogical saga, connected with the cult, and not an historical personality." And R. Dussaud,<sup>24</sup> reviewing a book by C. Toussaint<sup>25</sup> observes; "M. Toussaint essaie de reconstituer la figure de Moïse, bien qu'il ne nous reste plus que des legendes, qui ont été habilement transformées par l'esprit monotheiste; l'oeuvre de Moïse nous échappe parce que les redacteurs postérieurs l'ont complètement dénaturée en projetant dans le temps les conceptions nouvelles qu'ils enseignaient."

It is indeed impossible to escape the impression that certain distinctly mythical elements are found in the Moses story. There are some features that seem to point to an ultimate divine origin, such as the exposure of Moses in the ark (Ex. ii. 3), his designation as a god (Ex. vii. 1), his sojourn on the mountain of the moongod Sin (Ex. xxxi, 18; xxxiv, 2), his ability to speak with Yahwe face to face and to behold his form (Deut. v, 4; xxxiv, 10; Num. xii, 8), though no man can see Yahwe and live (Ex. xxxiii, 20), his special permission to see Yahwe's back (Ex. xxxiii, 23),<sup>26</sup> his *facies cornuta* (Ex. xxxiv, 29, 35),<sup>27</sup> his veil (ib. vss. 33, 35), and his disappearance and burial by Yahwe (Deut. xxxiv, 24). He sometimes seems to belong to a superhuman realm. It is possible that the meaning of the name should be added. In the story of Joseph, names like Zaphenath-paneach, Asenath, Potiphara' (Gen. xli, 45), and Potiphar (Gen. xxxix, 1), of a type especially familiar in the Saitic period, were at some time introduced. No such learned interest is seen in Ex. ii, 10, though it would be altogether natural for the princess to give her adopted son an Egyptian name. She speaks

<sup>23</sup> *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, 1906, p. 451.

<sup>24</sup> *Syria*, 12. 379 f.

<sup>25</sup> *Les origines de la religion d'Israel*, 1931.

<sup>26</sup> A mythical background may be expected here, even if the solar eclipse theory of D. Völter, *Mose und die ägyptische Mythologie*, 1912, presupposes too much astronomical knowledge, stresses unduly Egyptian influence, and goes too far in identifying Moses with Thot.

<sup>27</sup> Jerome and Aquila, in harmony with the natural meaning of קִרְיָהּ; ἡ δὲ δοξαμένη G. is probably rationalization.

Hebrew, gives him a good Hebrew name, knows its derivation, and explains her reason for selecting it: "for out of the water I have drawn him" (משִׁיחָהוּ). *Mōšeh* is act. part. Qal of *mašah*, "he draws out, he delivers." *Mašuy*, "drawn out, delivered," would have been more suitable to the tale; but the name was older than the legend accounting for it. *Mošeh* means Deliverer. This may be the name or epithet of a god.

But it may also be the designation of a human personality. A figure of the genealogical saga is not necessarily unhistorical. Mythical and legendary features often attach themselves to men of note. In family traditions, and especially in the cult, memories of such personalities are likely to be preserved as well as tendencies at work that will bring about a change in the conception of them. The priests at Dan apparently traced their ancestry to Moses, regarding Jonathan, the founder of the sanctuary, as his grandson (Jud. xviii, 30). That they should have laid claim to descent from Moses rather than from Aaron, as did those in Shiloh, may be important. If this claim could be shown to be well founded, and if some of the material in the Pentateuch could be definitely connected with Dan, a family tradition might be established. Jonathan was a Levite from Bethlehem in Judah. A dispersion of Levites from Kadesh Barnea is probable. Here rival priestly interests are indicated; and it is not impossible that a local priest became famous both as an oracle giver drawing out the lot, and as a deliverer from dangerous foes, and was referred to as *Mošeh*, a deliverer. It may not be advisable to crowd too many episodes into Kadesh Barnea on the supposition that they have been transferred from there to Sinai. Other tribes had their own traditions of miraculous escapes, and priestly oracles under the influence of Levitical instruction would naturally be made to contribute to the story of the great deliverer. The later and increasingly accentuated Egyptian setting may be due to some such tradition in a small group, or to a confusion of one Yam Suph (the Aelanitic gulf) with another (the Heröopolitan gulf). But it is obvious that, even if Moses is an historic personality, we have at present no sure criterion by which to determine what he said or did.

A brief comparison with the other religious heroes will emphasize the importance of this point of view. In the case of Zarathuštra, whether he is supposed to have lived in the 6th century or several centuries earlier, we have no reference to him by any contemporary,

no document written by him, and no early record dealing with him that has come down in its original form or can be dated with certainty. The silence of Assyrian, Babylonian, Elamitic, and Chaldian inscriptions is not strange. If he was a Mede, it is indeed a question when his people began to employ a system of writing. It is not improbable that they adopted some modified form of the Assyrian script already before 614, or at least after the conquest of Assyria, and not impossible that the Persian cuneiform originated among them, as E. Herzfeld<sup>28</sup> has suggested. But we have as yet no Median inscriptions. The Achaemenian inscriptions never mention Zarathuštra. Allusions in Greek writers are late.<sup>29</sup>

The Avesta was regarded by Anquetil-Duperron<sup>30</sup> as a work of Zarathuštra. From its statements, the Pahlavi books, and other writings he tentatively concluded that Zarathuštra was born in Adharbaijan 589, moved to Iran 559, to Bactria 549, and to Babylon 524, and died 512. He presented this only as "un système sur lequel je ne suis pas même décidé," and mentioned as great difficulties the identification of "les anciens rois nommés Pechdadiens et Kaniens" with the Assyrian, Median, and Persian monarchs known through the Greeks, and particularly that of Gustasp, king of Bactria, and his son Espendiar with Hystaspes and Darius.<sup>31</sup> It was the impression of the Avesta as a whole that led H. Kern<sup>32</sup> and others to question the historicity of Zarathuštra and to seek a mythical explanation. That there are mythical elements, notably in the Younger Avesta, where he often appears as a superhuman being, a demi-god, is today generally recognized. When it was more clearly seen that the Gāthās were not only written in a different dialect but also present a different conception of Zarathuštra, these songs seemed to point to a purely human person-

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<sup>28</sup> *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, I, 1, 1929, p. 16.

<sup>29</sup> Xanthus, the Lydian, an older contemporary of Herodotus, according to Diogenes Laertius, *de rit. philos.*, ii, 2, said that Zoroaster lived 600 (var. 6000) years before Xerxes crossed to Europe. Cf. also Fragment 19 in Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* I, p. 42. Plato, *Alcibiades* I, mentions the magic of Zoroaster, son of Oromazes. Authorship and date of this dialogue are doubtful.

<sup>30</sup> *Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroaster*, 1771.

<sup>31</sup> *I. c.*, p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> *Mededeelingen van de K. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, XI, 1867.

ality, a struggling and suffering man. It was not easy, however, to find for him a suitable niche in history. Some scholars would place him in the second millennium, about 1000 or 900, or at least two or more centuries before Darius. This is the position of L. H. Mills,<sup>33</sup> Eduard Meyer,<sup>34</sup> C. Bartholomae,<sup>35</sup> H. Reichelt,<sup>36</sup> K. Geldner,<sup>37</sup> C. Clemen,<sup>38</sup> A. J. Carnoy,<sup>39</sup> J. Charpentier,<sup>40</sup> and A. Christensen.<sup>41</sup> In favor of this view Meyer cites the two Median chiefs, Mašdaka (possibly for Mazdaka) of the city of Amaki, and Maštaka (for Mazdaka) of the land of Ameista, who paid tribute to Sargon II in 713, and urges the abstract character of Ahura Mazda as well as all the Amesha Spentas as indicating a personal founder of the religion. A. V. W. Jackson,<sup>42</sup> basing his opinion on Bundahišn, xxxiv, 7 ff. and Arda Viraf i, 1 ff.,<sup>43</sup> maintains that Zarathuštira lived 660-583, while J. Hertel<sup>44</sup> and E. Herzfeld<sup>45</sup> have returned to Anquetil Duperron's identification of the Avestan Vištaspa with the father of Darius. Herzfeld thinks that Zarathuštira was born at Ragha 570, withdrew to Parthia, taught under the protection of Vištaspa on mount Ušida, exhorted Darius to murder Gaumata by an oracle uttered between April 2 and September 29, 522, and died 500. Support is sought in recently discovered inscriptions. According to the account by Darius of the building of his palace at Susa,<sup>46</sup> both his father Vištaspa and his grandfather Aršama were still alive when he ascended the throne. Both may, therefore, have inspired Darius with his zeal for Ahura Mazda. Neither of

<sup>33</sup> *The Zend Avesta*, III, 1887, p. xxxiii.

<sup>34</sup> *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 42, 1 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Die Gatha's des Avesta*, 1905; *Zarathustra's Leben und Lehre*, 1920.

<sup>36</sup> *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, 1909, p. 21.

<sup>37</sup> *Enc. Brit.* 11th ed., XXI, 246.

<sup>38</sup> *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*, 1920, p. 21.

<sup>39</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, XII, 1921, p. 862 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, III, 1925, p. 747 ff.

<sup>41</sup> *Études sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse antique*, 1928, p. 11 ff.

<sup>42</sup> *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, 1899; *Zoroastrian Studies*, 1928, p. 17 ff.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Meillet, *Trois conférences sur les Gatha*, 1925, p. 21 ff.; but also Clemen, *l. c.*, p. 11 f.

<sup>44</sup> *Die Zeit Zoroasters*, 1924.

<sup>45</sup> *l. c.*, II, 2, p. 108 ff.

<sup>46</sup> V. Scheil, *Inscriptions des Achéménides à Susa*, 1929; T. W. König, *Der Burgbau zu Susa*, 1930. Cf. Kent in this JOURNAL, 51. 189 ff.; 53. 1 ff.

them is mentioned as a king,<sup>47</sup> but this is implied in the Behistun inscription, and may be strengthened by the Aryaramna inscription found by Herzfeld<sup>48</sup> near Hamadan and now in Berlin. The authenticity of this inscription has been doubted by H. H. Schaeder,<sup>49</sup> who assumes that it was written in the 4th century as a "Bildbeischrift" in honor of an ancestor of the Achaemenids, and compares it with the inscription in honor of C. Duilius, excavated in the Forum in the 19th century and supposed to have been written by a savant in the 1st century A. D. Whatever may be the strength of the philological argument, which is based on very scanty material, this ingenious theory, so obviously resorted to in order to avoid a real difficulty, is somewhat lacking in plausibility. If the inscription is genuine and the worship of Ahura Mazda originated with Zarathuštra, it militates against the view adopted by Hertel and Herzfeld. For an Assyrian inscription published by E. Weidner<sup>50</sup> states that Kuraš of Parsumaš, who is probably the same as Kuraš I of Anšan, the brother of Aryaramna, paid tribute to Aššurbanapli in 639. Qahispiš must then have ceased to reign in 639. It may perhaps be conjectured that Aryaramna temporarily took possession of Ekbatana before the reign of Cyaxares and therefore assumed the high-sounding titles "the great king, the king of kings, the king of Parsa" which he holds by the grace of "the great god Ahura Mazda." In any case, this Mazdayasnian would have lived a long time before the historical Vištaspas and Herzfeld's date for Zarathuštra, and nearer to Jackson's supposed Vištaspas. Hertel believes that the younger Achæmenian line ruled somewhere in the eastern part of Parsua-Parsumas-Parsa, while the older branch reigned in Anšan. This is not impossible. But when, in spite of the different names, he identifies<sup>51</sup> the cadet line with the Kayanids (Yašt xiv, 71 ff.), Christensen<sup>52</sup> points out that Vištaspas, the last of the Kavis, is not said to be the immediate successor of Kavi Haosrava. In Yašt V, 105, Aurat-aspa (later

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<sup>47</sup> Cp. E. Herzfeld, *A new Inscription of Xerxes from Persepolis*, 1932, where Darius' father is said to be one named Vištaspas and Vištaspas's father one named Aršama, both being alive when Ahura Mazda made Darius king.

<sup>48</sup> *I. c.*, II, 3, 1930.

<sup>49</sup> *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1931, II, 635 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VII, 1931, 1 ff.

<sup>51</sup> *Die Achaemeniden und die Kayaniden*, 1924.

<sup>52</sup> *I. c.*, p. 35.

changed to Lohrasp, Firdosi), and not Aršama, is given as the name of Vištasp's father. This is an epithet of the water-god Apām Napāt. The theory is not strengthened by such disappearance of the real names and substitution of mythical ones. But even if, in Yasna xxviii, 7, liii, 2 and the Younger Avesta, none else should be meant than the father of Darius, it does not follow, as Meillet<sup>53</sup> observes, "que l'église Zoroastrienne ait été constituée dès le debut, ni que Darius ait accueilli la doctrine de Zoroastre." There remains the possibility that the historical Vištasp actually showed his devotion to the god worshipped by his grandfather and his son in such a way as to make him a central figure in Zarathuštian tradition. This assumption, however, would not solve the problem of Zarathuštra.

While much weight, no doubt, attaches to the contention that the abstract character of the Mazdaean divinities and the ethical emphasis point to a significant personal initiative, these peculiarities may be due to a special development of thought within a group of priests or prophets among the Magi. Zarathuštra, a word of quite uncertain meaning, may indeed be the title of a priest of this order, as certain passages in the Gāthās and the term *zarathuštrotēma* for the chief priest would suggest. How such a rationalization of an earlier mythology and cult can be accomplished, without any knowledge surviving of the men through whose thinking it was brought about, may be seen in the Upanishads and other Indian works. In our ignorance of early Median history we are unable to tell when a movement of this kind could have occurred. The 8th century is not impossible. To go back nearer to the Amarna period does not seem advisable, and to descend to the 6th century is not demanded either by the epigraphic material or by the Gāthās, least of all by the assumption that Yasna liii, 7, 8 contains a counsel to Darius, of which this astute statesman was in no need, to put Gaumata to death.

Where so much uncertainty exists, it is not to be wondered that scholars like J. Darmesteter,<sup>54</sup> C. de Harlez,<sup>55</sup> C. P. Tiele,<sup>56</sup> and A. Meillet have continued to express doubts as to the historicity of

<sup>53</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1931, p. 190.

<sup>54</sup> *Le Zend Avesta*, III, 1893, p. lxx ff.

<sup>55</sup> *Avesta*, 1881, p. 99 f.

<sup>56</sup> *Geschiedenis van den godsdienst in de oudheid*, II, 1895, p. 99.

Zarathuštra. Meillet<sup>57</sup> characterizes the doctrine that Zarathuštra is a truly historic personality as an altogether subjective impression of the study of the Gāthās, and adds: "il n'est peut-être pas si évident que les gathas soient l'oeuvre du prophète lui-même; un texte qu'on ne peut ni dater ni localiser n'est pas un document historique, et le mieux est de ne fonder sur ce texte unique et non contrôlable aucune doctrine." The attempt by C. Bartholomae<sup>58</sup> to interpret the Gāthās, of which our earliest manuscript seems to come from 1323 A. D., as essentially the *ipsissima verba* of the prophet, whom he dates ca. 900 B. C., fails to carry conviction. The bracketed indications of who the speaker is in the various sections express the judgment of the learned translator and tend to influence the reader; but the references to Zarathuštra in the text itself, the abrupt changes from the 1 p. sg. to 2 p. or 3 p. sg. or even 1 p. pl., the inconcinnities and apparent traces of rearrangement, as well as questions of accurate oral transmission, date of writing and script used, effects of editorial work, and historic or legendary character of personal names, disturb the student's confidence. It is difficult for an historian to say without wincing, "Also sprach Zarathuštra." V. Lesny<sup>59</sup> well remarks, "Es führt auf Abwege, wenn wir die Gathas als *dicta prophetae* und jede als ein zusammenhängendes Ganzes ansehen," and he probably goes as far as any cautious critic would do at present, when he concludes his study by declaring, "Daran scheint kein Zweifel möglich, dass so wie in der ältesten Schichte des Palikanons Aussprüche Buddhas verborgen sind, auch in den Gathas Worte Zarathuštras sich finden, denn der ältesten Liturgie lag ja gewiss daran in erster Linie Aussprüche des Propheten festzuhalten, aber ebenso wie dort besitzen wir kein Kriterium, nach welchem wir sie herauschälen könnten."

There are no contemporary references to Gautama, the Buddha, in foreign sources. None are likely to be found in Chinese literature, and the Achæmenian inscriptions offer no ground for expecting any. The Gaotema in Yašt xiii, 16, may be an allusion to him;<sup>60</sup> but the form is not quite exact, the date is uncertain, and

<sup>57</sup> *Journal Asiatique*. 1909, p. 536.

<sup>58</sup> *L. c.*

<sup>59</sup> *Archiv Orientalní*, II, 1930, p. 95 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. C. D. Harlez. *Avesta*. 1881, p. xciii; A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 1899, p. 177 f.; A. Herzfeld, *l. c.*, I, 2, 1929, p. 136.

the original is lost. Nor are there any contemporary native documents. The alphabet was not entirely unknown in India in Achaemenian times. The conjecture of G. Bühler<sup>61</sup> that Aramaic language and script were used in Gandhara was verified by J. Marshall's<sup>62</sup> discovery of an Aramaic inscription at Taxila. The Kharoshthi is older than Aśoka (ca. 272-231); but the earliest inscriptions in it and in the Brahmi seem to come from him or from his time. They testify to the then prevailing Buddha cult, as do the relics to which they sometimes refer. Among the many inscriptions and sacred objects that have been found some are of special interest. In the Nigiliva pillar inscription, discovered first by a Nepalese officer in 1893 and then by A. A. Führer<sup>63</sup> in 1895, Aśoka commemorates his enlargement of the stupa of Buddha Konākamana, one of the Buddhas preceding Gautama, and his subsequent visit to it. In the so-called "Rummindei" inscription from Padaria, found by Führer<sup>64</sup> in 1896, Aśoka declares that he set up the pillar on the spot where Śākyamuni Buddha was born, and records his favors to the village of Lumbini. Near Piprāvakoṭ, among the ruins of a stupa, W. C. Peppé<sup>65</sup> discovered in January, 1898, a large stone box, containing steatite vases, pieces of bones, gold leaf, jewels, beads, etc. Encircling the neck of one of the vases runs a legend, describing the contents as a deposit of relics of Buddha of the Sākyas by the Sukiti-brothers with their sisters, children, and wives. On palaeographical grounds Sukiti is supposed to have been a contemporary of Aśoka. These discoveries were most satisfactorily discussed by E. Senart<sup>66</sup> and A. Barth.<sup>67</sup> In his excavations at Kasia, J. P. Vogel<sup>68</sup> found a copper vessel, covered with a copper plate, bearing several lines of writing, and two copper tubes, one of which contained some silver coins of Kumāragupta, son of Candragupta II. F. E. Pargiter,<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> WZKM 9. 49.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. A. Cowley, *JRAS*, 1915, p. 346.

<sup>63</sup> *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey*, July, 1895.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. G. Bühler, *Athenaeum*, April, 1897; V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1897, p. 615 f.

<sup>65</sup> *JRAS*, 1898, p. 385 ff.

<sup>66</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1906, p. 132 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *Journal des savants*, 1906, p. 541 ff.

<sup>68</sup> *Archaeological Exploration in India* 1910-1911, 1912. On identifications in the region of Kapilavastu, see W. Vost, *JRAS*, 1906, 553 f.

<sup>69</sup> *JRAS*, 1913, p. 151 ff.



filling a lacuna, read in the inscription (parinirvāṇa caitya). Kumāragupta reigned ca. 415-450 A. D. If the inscription, which begins with the usual introduction of a Pali sūtra, is of the same age as the coins, this may show that in the 5th century A. D. Kasia was regarded as the place of Buddha's nirvāṇa. In the old town of Napiki there is said to be a relic stupa to Kakucchanda, next to the last, or second from the last, Buddha before Gautama, with its inscribed Aśoka pillar,<sup>70</sup> and there are relic shrines in many other places. The whole subject has been treated discriminatingly by R. Otto Franke.<sup>71</sup> The most that can be inferred from these finds is that the cult of the Buddhas, and especially the Buddha of the Śākyas, flourished in the middle of the 3d century B. C., that the Nepalese region was a particular centre of traditions connected with this cult, and that these had been established for some time, even though it be impossible to determine their age.

There is no dependable chronology of Buddhism before Aśoka. The death of the last Buddha was not made an official era, but various calculations were in course of time made as to when it had occurred. The Tibetans give fourteen different dates between 2422 and 546; the Chinese put it in 950, one thousand years before the introduction of Buddhism in their country, and the Singhalese, followed by the Burmese and Siamese, in 544. How little reliance can be placed on any of these dates was shown by N. L. Westergaard<sup>72</sup> and H. Kern.<sup>73</sup> J. F. Fleet<sup>74</sup> indicated some reasons for believing that the prevailing Singhalese reckoning, the Buddha-varṣa, not found in the Dīpavaṃsa or the Mahāvaṃsa, originated in the 12th century, but accepted the evidence produced by W. Geiger<sup>75</sup> that it was used already in the 11th. Both scholars were all the more willing to abandon it as Dīpavaṃsa vi, 20, states that Aśoka succeeded his father Bindusāra 214 years after Buddha's nirvāṇa, and Mahāvaṃsa vi, 21, that his anointment four years later took place 218 years after the nirvāṇa, which on the traditional chronology would carry Candragupta back to 382, about 60 years too early. Subtracting these, they arrived at 482 as the

<sup>70</sup> Cp. L. Waddell, *JASB*, 1896, p. 276.

<sup>71</sup> *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, IV, 1915.

<sup>72</sup> *Ueber Buddha's Todesjahr*, 1862.

<sup>73</sup> "Over de jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten," in *Verhandelingen der K. Ak. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, VIII, 1873.

<sup>74</sup> *JRAS*, 1909, p. 323 ff.

<sup>75</sup> *The Mahāvaṃsa*, 1912.

probable date of Buddha's death. Confirmation of the *Dīpavaṃsa* statement, coming from the 5th century A.D., was sought in the alleged prophecy of Buddha, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang in the 7th century, that a stupa would be built in Taxila 400 years after his nirvāṇa by a king named Kanishka, whose date was then supposed to be 56 B.C. rather than 78 A.D. Fleet<sup>76</sup> also attempted to strengthen his conclusion by interpreting the puzzling number 256 in Aśoka's *Sahasram* inscription as a reference to a nirvāṇa era, and not to the days of his pilgrimage, and making more precise his earlier date, he placed the death of Buddha on October 13, 483.<sup>77</sup> For the period before the Mauryas Geiger<sup>78</sup> carefully compared the Singhalese list of the kings of Magadha with other extant lists and found it to be in agreement with his results. But T. W. Rhys Davids<sup>79</sup> declared: "It must be confessed that the numbers seem much too regular, with their multiples of six and eight, to be very probably in accordance with fact." There is also a reasonable doubt as to the existence of Kālāsoka. We have no assured dates for Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, and outside the Buddha story their names do not occur, although they may be alluded to under the names of Śrenika and Kūnika in Jain scriptures of uncertain age. According to Charpentier,<sup>80</sup> "the Jains do not tell us anything about the Buddhists".

The Pali canon, no doubt, presents us with the earliest Buddhist texts. How much of it may have been carried to Ceylon by Aśoka's son Mahendra and how much may have developed subsequently among the colonists and their converts, whether any sections were translated from Magadhi or Avanti, and when the whole first appeared in Pali language and script, can only be conjectured. We now know that there was also a Sanskrit canon. Parts of it are coming to light in Mahāyāna countries in increasing numbers. The fact that entire sections sometimes run quite parallel to the Pali books may point to a common origin before Aśoka, while the divergencies as clearly indicate fluctuations and later growth. When the *Lalitavistara*, a Buddhist work in Sanskrit, written probably in the 1st century B.C., was brought to Europe from

<sup>76</sup> *JRAS*, 1909, p. 333.

<sup>77</sup> *JRAS*, 1909, p. 1 ff.

<sup>78</sup> *The Mahāvamsa*, 1912, p. xl ff.

<sup>79</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, I, 1922, p. 190.

<sup>80</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, I, 1922, p. 160 f.

Nepal, it caused something of a sensation. It was chiefly, though not exclusively, on this work that E. Senart<sup>81</sup> based his ingenious attempt to show the essentially mythical character of Buddha. This was done even more consistently by H. Kern.<sup>82</sup> A. Barth<sup>83</sup> and E. Renan,<sup>84</sup> while admitting that many features were obviously mythical, sought to rescue more of an historic nucleus around which legends had grown up. In the reaction against the mythical explanation, it was urged that the Pali writings had been too much neglected. Here was testimony of the doctrine which was supposed to have been handed down, orally at first and then in writing, as it came from the sage in his conversations with the immediate disciples. The Mahāyāna traditions were looked upon with suspicion. Later research has tended to show that the accuracy of the former was greatly overestimated, and the value of the latter underestimated.

Closer study of the relations of Buddhism to the Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Vedānta systems has had the effect of reducing greatly the supposed originality of the ideas ascribed to Gautama. H. Oldenberg<sup>85</sup> especially stressed dependence upon the Upanishads, Senart<sup>86</sup> on the Yoga. Confidence that the Hīnayāna system, whatever its derivation, was developed by Gautama is unmistakably decreasing. Salomon Reinach<sup>87</sup> held it probable that he once existed, but maintained that the collection of the sacred scriptures of Buddhism does not contain a line which one has the right to attribute to Buddha or to one of his immediate disciples. The searching investigations of the Dīgha Nikāya by R. O. Franke<sup>88</sup> are significant. This oldest document of the southern Buddhists is regarded by him as "ein einheitliches Werk eines Literaten, nicht aber eine Sammlung von Reden Buddha's", and the later works as similar literary productions built upon it. From the accounts in the Dīgha Nikāya of the six previous Buddhas as well as of the last he infers that there was a Buddha of dogma, ultimately of mythical origin, and concludes that to him Gautama is

<sup>81</sup> *Essai sur la légende du Bouddha*, 1875; 2d ed., 1882.

<sup>82</sup> *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1882. p. 49 ff., 149 ff.

<sup>83</sup> *Ib.*, 1882. p. 227 ff. Résumé and critique of Kern.

<sup>84</sup> *Journal des savants*, 1883, p. 177 ff., 259 ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, 1915,

<sup>86</sup> *Origines bouddhiques*, 1907.

<sup>87</sup> *Orpheus*, 1909, p. 81. <sup>88</sup> *Dighanikāya*, 1913; *ZDMG*, 1915, p. 455 ff.

not a whit less mythical than his six predecessors.<sup>89</sup> Caroline Rhys Davids<sup>90</sup> also rejects the bulk of the Hīnayāna traditions as due to a narrowing and perverted monasticism, and finds in certain Mahāyāna works indications of an earlier and truer conception of Gautama. The trenchant critique of the sources by this eminent scholar should not be discounted because of an imaginary sketch,<sup>91</sup> having a serious purpose, but not meant to be a scientific reconstruction. That Gautama actually existed and exercised a directive influence on the thought of India is widely recognized as a probability. But the absence of any criterion by which to determine what is genuine in either Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna tradition is felt. E. J. Thomas<sup>92</sup> says concerning the words of Buddha: "The nucleus is there, even though we may never succeed in separating it, or in deciding what the earliest forms of it may have been."

The problems connected with the origin of Taoism are of a peculiar character. Here there is no need of considering, as in the case of Buddhism, whether the use of a system of writing can be assumed for the time of the reputed founder. Allusions to him in foreign sources are not to be expected. Neighbors interested in Chinese affairs were still illiterate. But literature was produced in China. Outside of Taoist circles there seems to be no reference to Lao tse, or to a book written by him, before Se-ma-ts'ien. W. Grube<sup>93</sup> declares: "Es ist eine schwer ins Gewicht fallende Tatsache, dass wir nicht eine einzige authentische Äusserung des Confucius besitzen, aus der sich folgern liesse, dass er den Lao-tsze oder auch nur das Tao-teh-king gekannt hätte." This categorical statement has been questioned by J. Grill<sup>94</sup> on the ground that, in the Analects, xiv, 36, an unknown man is said to have asked Confucius whether it was right to requite evil with good, to which the sage gave an answer in the negative. But even if the anecdote should be true, is it inconceivable that, without the influence of Lao-tse or of any book, the idea could have occurred to some Chinese mind that forbearance and kindly treatment might be preferable to vengeance? Such reflections, based on ordinary experience and

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<sup>89</sup> "Der dogmatische Buddha," *WZKM*, XXVIII, 1914, p. 331 ff.

<sup>90</sup> *Sakya*, 1931; *A Manual of Buddhism*, 1932.

<sup>91</sup> *Gotama the Man*, 1926.

<sup>92</sup> *The Life of Buddha*, 1927, p. 235.

<sup>93</sup> *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur*, 1909, p. 141.

<sup>94</sup> *Lao-tszes Buch vom höchsten Wesen*, 1910, 8 ff.

observation, cannot have been so rare in any human society. It is scarcely possible to account for the silence of Confucius either by ignorance or wilful ignoring without impugning the trustworthiness of Se-ma-ts'ien's story. Whether the great historian, who apparently published his *She-ki* in 91 B. C., consequently almost four hundred years after the death of Confucius, derived his information from *She pen* (possibly 3d century) or some other source, his account, on which so much has been built, must be looked upon with suspicion. He does not mention the book as *Tao te king*, and there is no indication that he had read it.

More remarkable is the absence in earlier Taoist writers like Lie tse, Chuang tse, Han fei tse, and Huai nan tse of any biographical notices of Lao tse, or any allusions to the book he is supposed to have written. Phrases such as "Lao tse says" or "it is said" occur frequently, and sometimes sentences are apparently quoted that correspond more or less closely with passages in the *Tao te king*, but this title is never mentioned, nor is a book by any other title ascribed to Lao tse. In view of this it was suggested by Herbert A. Giles<sup>95</sup> that the volume we possess is a collection of aphorisms taken from these writers, though containing also some unquestionably genuine sayings of Lao tse. Other scholars also find it improbable that the *Tao te king* was actually written by Lao tse, and assume later additions and editorial work, but emphasize more strongly the extent and value of the genuine sayings. This is in the main the position of W. Grube,<sup>96</sup> J. Grill,<sup>97</sup> Lionel Giles,<sup>98</sup> and R. Wilhelm.<sup>99</sup> A more plausible theory has been presented by Henri Maspero.<sup>100</sup> He thinks that the book was written by an author living ca. 400 B. C. The book was called *Lao tse*; the author's name is unknown: "On ne sait absolument rien de l'auteur du *Lao-tseu*. Je dis le *Lao-tseu* parce que s'il est certain qu'il y a eu un livre de ce titre, il ne l'est nullement qu'il ait existé un personnage à qui ait été donné ce nom." The details in *Se ma ts'ien's* sketch (*She ki*, lxiii, 1a 2a) are traced back to the dubious

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<sup>95</sup> *The Remains of Lao Tzū*, 1886.

<sup>96</sup> *L. c.*, p. 143 ff.

<sup>97</sup> *L. c.*, p. 37 ff.

<sup>98</sup> *The Sayings of Lao tzū*, 1911, p. 9 ff.

<sup>99</sup> *Laotse Tao te king, Das Buch des Alten vom Sinn und Leben*, 1923, p. iv ff.; *Chinese Civilization*, 1929, p. 147 f.

<sup>100</sup> *La Chine antique*, 1927, p. 486 ff.

family register of Li kiai(ib.) who pretended to be a descendant of Lao tse and lived in the middle of the 2nd century B. C., when he gave instruction to the grandson of the founder of the Han dynasty.

This view has decided advantages. It explains in a natural way the quotations in early Taoist works, the attitude of Chuang tse, the most brilliant writer of ancient China, and the development of the school. The *Tao te king* is an anonymous work, containing no hint as to its authorship, no proper names, no allusions to historic events. Only by internal evidence, language, style, and place in the evolution of Chinese thought, can an approximate date be assigned to it. But it is a strikingly original production and, in spite of its loose construction and obvious share in the vicissitudes of ancient books, possesses an unmistakable unity of thought. Its intrinsic value and influence do not depend upon our knowledge of its authorship or age. The Book of Job remains one of the masterpieces of the world's literature, though we are equally ignorant in that case. As the book seems at one time to have been ascribed to Huang ti, it may perhaps be conjectured that Lao tse, "the Old One," "the Ancient Master," may have been an epithet of this mythical personage. The present title does not appear to have been used before the 6th century A. D., when the book was declared to be a *king* (classic), dealing with *tao* (the way, nature's course) and *te* (virtue, in the sense of mana, power, virtue), as the two key-words indicated. As regards the sources of its philosophy, A. Rémusat<sup>101</sup> hinted at the possibility of contact with the thought of India already in the 6th century B. C. Buddhist influences are amply evidenced in the later growth of myth and legend clustering around the figure of Lao tse, who becomes himself a Buddha to be worshipped. But it seems out of the question to carry any such influences back either to the time of Confucius or to the end of the 5th century. More importance attaches to the investigations of Maspero<sup>102</sup> which have set in a clearer light the relations of Taoism to earlier groups of mystics, diviners, and metaphysicians. If these could be shown to antedate Confucius, it is within the bounds of possibility that the famous collection of aphorisms is a precipitate of ideas expressed in some form by one of his contemporaries. The probability, however, is slight.

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<sup>101</sup> *Mémoire sur la vie et les opinions de Lao-tseu*, 1823, p. 9 ff.

<sup>102</sup> *L. c.*, p. 479 ff.

To touch at last upon the much discussed question as to the historical character of Jesus and the origin of Christianity, it may be affirmed that we have no absolutely contemporary evidence, preserved in its original form, by which to prove that Jesus of Nazareth ever lived. Long continued and searching investigations have also shown that the distinctive Christian system of doctrine, cult, and ecclesiastical organization cannot have originated with him, and that this system did not develop without a far-reaching influence being exerted upon it by Hellenistic thought and practice. The nearest approach to contemporary testimony would be the Pauline epistles. If some of these were actually written by him and the copies we possess are essentially correct, he evidently believed that Jesus had been crucified, though he had never met him personally, was not present at the crucifixion, and practically makes no mention of his words and deeds. The genuineness of the whole collection has been questioned, but the difficulty of explaining all of them as essays, written in the current epistolary style, is very great. On the other hand, they clearly indicate the tremendous influence of Paul in forming the doctrine concerning Jesus as the Messiah and in organizing the Christian church, and the effect upon him, not only of earlier Jewish thought and current methods of exegesis, but also of the ideas and language of the mystery cults, and of Hellenistic speculation in general. The Aramaic gospel, of which Papias of Hierapolis in Phrygia heard, has been lost, if it ever existed. The Greek gospels reveal the growth of Christian consciousness. This is true of the Synoptics as well as of John. Everywhere Jesus is presented as he stood before the mind of the church, his words and deeds being given the form and coloring unconsciously demanded by Christian faith. But in the cult very early formulations have a tendency to fix themselves. By a careful comparison of textual variants and a translation of the sayings back into the Aramaic dialect Jesus would have spoken, it has been possible to come nearer to their probable original meaning, and also to discover an earlier strand of tradition, suggesting a personality far different from the later conception, and more credible. That the new picture must to a considerable extent be a subjective creation is inevitable. This applies in a measure to the conception of any human life in the past, however rich and dependable the sources may be. Meanwhile, scholarly investigation has shown with increasing clearness that

Christianity had other sources, not less important because they were pagan as well as Jewish, beside the rich stream that is likely to have flowed from the spiritual integrity and deep insight of the prophet of Nazareth.

Certain conclusions may, with some degree of assurance, be drawn as regards the historical character of these exalted figures, the origin of the religious movements associated with their names, and the methods of approach to the problems involved. At a time when the unprecedented accretion of original sources of the first order has intensified the quest for such material, to be used in the reconstruction of history, it must be admitted that no strictly contemporary record has as yet been brought to light by which any one of them can be proved, beyond peradventure, to have existed as a human being at a definitely ascertained date. But it is also clear that in no case can the absence of such testimony be regarded as altogether inexplicable in the circumstances, or as precluding the assumption that he once lived on the earth. Without a question, a cautious criticism finds it increasingly difficult to decide how far the apparently oldest sources, sometimes removed by generations, and even centuries, from the initial impulse, may represent the historic reality and an originating personal force. Yet, inadequate as the criteria of authenticity may be, and subjective to a large extent as the resultant image must of necessity appear, it is possible to maintain that an unbiased investigation has already been able to discover traces of still earlier traditions of such a character as to enhance the probability that in all these cases there stands in the background a distinct human personality, however dimly seen and different from later conceptions. It cannot be denied that the ever recurring doubts on this point, and the attempts to explain the entire documentary material on some other theory, are perfectly legitimate. They have been of positive value in riveting the attention on those currents of thought that gradually reached the point in history where the great personalities had been traditionally located, and flowed on in essentially the same direction as before. They have forced a recognition of the extraordinary capacity of religion for personifying and enriching with concrete features the objects of devotion, and necessitated a revision of estimates where an historic nucleus in the tradition is accepted.

It is no longer possible for critical students to consider the ideas of the assumed founders as absolutely new or to look upon the later



systems as necessarily a direct and logical development of their thought. Rather did such originality as may be ascribed to them consist in the peculiar manner in which they reflected, or reacted against, certain tendencies of their age, and the permanent influence reveal itself in the incentives that came from them and the characteristic moral traits that could not quite be hidden in the transformations which the conception of them underwent. They became miracle-workers and infallible seers of truth. Words were attributed to them that they never uttered, and deeds that they never performed, although incidentally, thanks to the tenacity of tradition, the memory of some genuine sayings, experiences, and acts may also have been preserved in the midst of a mass of incredible myths and legends. As the oriental religions grew, the majestic figures of the reputed founders rose above all ordinary mortals. A superhuman element attached itself to them. Even in this mysterious transcendence they continued to perform a deeply significant function in the life of man. The unfolding of the historical reality, so far as that can be approached by the use of proper scientific methods, may tend to bring them still nearer to us as inspiring examples and stimulators of further religious growth, of whom it may be truly said with Lucius Annaeus Seneca:<sup>103</sup> "Those illustrious founders of our religious convictions have been born for our good, and have prepared for us the way of life."

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<sup>103</sup> *De brevitate vitae*, xiv, 4: illi clarissimi sacrarum opiniarum conditores nobis nati sunt, nobis vitam praeperaverunt.

## THE WEI SHU AND THE SUI SHU ON TAOISM

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THE PRESENT article is the sequel to my article, "Wei Shou on Buddhism."<sup>1</sup> I here complete the translation of *Wei shu* 114, and, because of the light which it throws on Wei Shou's account, I have added a translation of the *Sui shu's* (35.12a-13a)<sup>2</sup> remarks on Taoism. The importance of these two texts lies in the fact that they can be dated with great precision: *Wei shu's* belongs to the end of 554; the *Sui shu's* has 656, or possibly 643, for its terminus ad quem. We are thus provided with two sturdy unimpeachable guide-posts for the study of the later phases of Taoism.

Lao-tzŭ and the Fathers of Taoism preached a mystical doctrine emphasizing the desirability of action in harmony with the all-pervading and eternal reality of the universe.<sup>3</sup> Any serious attempt

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<sup>1</sup> To appear in *T'oung pao*, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> My references are always to the *T'u shu chi ch'eng* edition of the histories.

For outline of the history of the *Wei shu* v. *JAOS* 52. 35-45.

The *Sui shu* is the official history of the Sui dynasty, which ruled China from the city of Ch'ang-an in central Shensi 590-617. For brief notes on this history v. *Ssu-k'ü* . . 45. In 629 Wei Ch'eng 魏徵 (580-Feb. 11, 643. Correct Giles 2264. V. *Hsin T'ang shu* 97 and 2.6b<sup>11</sup>; *Chiu T'ang shu* 71 and 3.6a<sup>9</sup>. Cf. *I-nien-lu hui pien* 2.15a) was ordered to prepare a history of the Sui dynasty. The annals and biographies were completed in 636. The essays were presented in 656 by Chang-sun Wu-chi 長孫無忌 (V. Giles 142; *Hsin T'ang shu* 105, *Chiu T'ang shu* 65.3a; must read Chang-sun because *Shih-hsing yün-pien* classifies it under 養).

The corrected edition of the *Sui shu* (1023-1032) levelled out the names of the individual authors which were given at the beginning of some of the chapters, and attributed all the annals and biographies to Wei Ch'eng and all the essays to Chang-sun Wu-chi. Older copies, however, attributed the chapters on literature to Wei Ch'eng. The text which we translate below is drawn from the section on literature.

Note that *HYSC* 2.26a attributes this essay to Wei Ch'eng. Cf. also Chavannes, *Mémoires Historiques* V. 459.

<sup>3</sup> For general remarks on Taoism v. H. Maspero's *La Chine Antique*, 486-507; Wieger's *Taoisme* I, 9-27; DeGroot's *The Religious System of China*, especially vol. 4. 325-331; and H. Maspero's *Mythologie de la Chine Moderne*, in *Mythologie Asiatique Illustrée*, Paris 1928, pp. 227-362. Of this last an English translation has been published in London.

to follow this injunction resulted, of necessity, in a renunciation of the external world and the devotion of oneself to the contemplation of the awe-inspiring and indefinable reality, or *tao*. Such a phenomenon is a common-place in the history of religions. To attain union with the object of his adoration, the Chinese mystic was taught to nourish the spark of the absolute contained within himself. This nourishment, as in the yoga-practice of India, was provided by regulated breathing, callisthenics, and undisturbed contemplation. The outward sign of progress in one's endeavors was the acquirement of supernatural powers which we associate with the terms magic and hypnotism, and the powwow-doctor. In the case of China we say that the Taoist practitioner was striving to attain the state of geniehood (仙 or 僊), of which there were three kinds: terrestrial, celestial, and post-mortem.<sup>4</sup>

The yogi of India does deign to partake of a minimum of normal nourishment; his Chinese counterpart, on the other hand, has insisted upon the necessity of avoiding ordinary food, and partaking of the reality itself thru substances which either contain a very high percentage of the *tao* or which seem to be looked upon as genuine crystallizations thereof: cinnabar, gold, silver, jade,

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<sup>4</sup> V. Pao-p'u-tzū, *nei p'ien*, 2.9a (in 1885 ed. of *P'ing-chin-kuan ts'ung-shu*): The *Hsien-ching* says: A practitioner of the first class raises up his body and mounts into the void, and is called a Celestial Genie. A practitioner of the second class wanders about on the famous mountains, and is called a Terrestrial Genie. A practitioner of the third class first dies and then casts off his cocoon (the body), and is called a *Shih-chieh* Genie.

按仙經云上士舉形昇虛謂之天仙中士遊於名山謂之地仙下士先死後蛻謂之尸解仙

We shall meet this term *shih-chieh* again in *Wei shu* 114. 13a<sup>8</sup>. It is probably to be interpreted "freed [from the body after becoming] a corpse." Parallel expressions are to be found in YCCC: 84.10b-11a *shui-chieh* 水解, "become a genie by drowning"; 85.1b *huo-chieh* 火解, "become a genie by burning to death." V. in general YCCC 84-86. *Shih-chieh* is said to have occurred in the cases of Huang-ti, Wang Ch'iao 王喬 (v. note 92), and Yü-tzū 玉子 (YCCC 85.6a) where a double-edged sword was found in their graves, the body having disappeared. The sword is explained as having been used to cut the body and thus free the *tao* or the soul in the individual which had finally reached a sufficiently high state of development to become a genie. A formula for making such a sword is given in YCCC 84.4b. In the account of K'ou Ch'ien-chih given below in the *Wei shu* no sword is mentioned, and none is mentioned in the legends of Wang Yen 王延 and Wang Sou 王叟 in YCCC 85.20a and 20b.

mica, pearls, yellow orpiment, pine-resin, etc.,<sup>4a</sup> or carefully prepared concoctions of these substances, which were considered veritable elixirs of life conferring immediate or progressive geniehood. We shall see more clearly into these practices when someone will have made us a careful translation of the Pao-p'u-tzū,<sup>4b</sup> where directions are given concerning the diet of the aspirant to geniehood. Articles such as Mr. Arthur Waley's "Notes on Chinese Alchemy" in *BSOS* 6 (1930). 1-24 and Mr. Wu Lu-ch'iang's 吳魯強 translation<sup>5</sup> of the *Ts'an-t'ung-ch'i*<sup>6</sup> bode well for our clearer understanding of this phase of Chinese religious life.

The Taoism of the essays translated below is the one which I have just described plus an organization and theology strongly colored by the presence of Buddhism in China. This, however, is too delicate a problem for us to discuss at this point. Let us rather allow these two Chinese authors to speak for themselves. In the notes I give additional, elucidating matter that I have gleaned elsewhere.

The *Wei shu* text appears in greatly abbreviated form in ch. 2 of the *Kuang hung ming chi* (*KHMC*) 廣弘明集, *Taishō* 52.104C-106B, which is dated 664. It is also drawn upon by the *Ch'ê fu yüan kuei* (*CFYK*) 冊府元龜 53.2a-9a (edition of 1642, v. Wylie's *Notes*, p. 183), which begins with the account of K'ou Ch'ien-chih.

In the course of the translation I have made frequent reference to the *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien* (*YCCC*) 雲笈七籤, Wiegier 1020. This is a compendium of Taoism in 32 volumes which appears not only in *Tao-tsang*, but has also been published in the *Ssü pu ts'ung k'an* of the Commercial Press. It is the latter edition that I have used. Its author is one Chang Chün-fang 張君房 of the

<sup>4a</sup> V. Wiegier, *Croyances*, 391. Pfizmaier, "Die Lösung der Leichname u. Schwerter," in *Sitzber. Wiener Ak. Wiss., philos.-hist. cl.* (1870), vol. 64.25-45 can be passed over. It is a mere list of individuals who have attained geniehood after death.

<sup>4b</sup> (V. A. Forke, "Ko Hung, der Philosoph und Alchemist," in *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, Bd. 41 [1932], 115-126. EDITOR.)

<sup>5</sup> V. *Isis* no. 53, vol. 18 (pt. 2), 210-289. *Scientific Monthly* 31 (1930), 225-235.

<sup>6</sup> 參同契 Wiegier 990 and Com. Press Ed. of *Tao-tsang*, vol. 621. Commentaries, Wiegier 991-999, and Com. Press. ed. of *Tao-tsang* 622-629 (Wiegier 992, read 二卷). Cf. Wiegier 897-898, and *Tao-tsang* 588-589. Cf. also Waley, *BSOS* 6.1-24.

Sung. The Commercial Press biographical dictionary says that he became a *chin-shih* in 1004-8 (v. Giles 44). Particular attention should also be called to the *Hun yüan shêng chi* (HYSC) 混元聖紀 (Wieger 762, *Tao-tsang* 551-3), which, because of its references, is especially valuable for the history of Taoism. Wieger 763 and the first chapter of 765 are, on the whole, tables of contents to this work. It is dated 1191 and attributed to a Hsieh Shou-hao 謝守灝, of whom I can find no mention elsewhere.

#### TRANSLATION OF *Wei Shu*

10b<sup>s</sup> Taoism originated with Lao-tzŭ.<sup>6a</sup> He says of himself<sup>7</sup> that before the creation of heaven and earth to support the ten

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<sup>6a</sup> For the legend of Lao-tzŭ v. *Shih-chi* 63.1a-2a; *Shên-hsien-chuan* 神仙傳 (龔威祕書 ed.) 1.1b-7a; *Kao-shih-chuan* 高士傳 (祕書廿一種 ed.) 上 7b (I have found neither of these two works in the *Tao-tsang*); Wieger 762-766, *Tao-tsang* 551-555; Wieger 291, *Tao-tsang* 138, A. 4b. The legend of his trip to the West to convert the barbarians, *Lao-tzŭ hsi shêng hua hu ching* 老子西昇化胡經 (fragments from Tun-huang published in *Taishō Tripitaka* 54.1266-1270), has been treated by Pelliot in *BEFEO* 3.322-327; 6.379; 8.515-517. Wieger 762 resembles these fragments in a very vague way, and the *hua hu ching* may be somewhere at the bottom of this text, but it is by no means identical. V. H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*<sup>2</sup> 714-726; 3112-3114; 3537-3541 for western essays and translations of the *Tao-tê-ching*, which tradition has associated with Lao-tzŭ.

For an account of Lao-tzŭ which has profited from the modern school of criticism v. H. Maspero's *La Chine Antique* 486-489. Maspero thinks that the *Tao-tê ching* belongs to the end of the fifth century B. C. The latest study of the question that I have seen is Ku Chieh-kang's attempt to determine the date of composition of the *Tao-tê-ching* from a study of the *Lü shih ch'un ch'iu* 從呂氏春秋推測老子之成書年代 in *Shih hsüeh nien pao* 史學年報 vol. 4 (1932), pp. 13-46. Professor Ku would place the composition of this book between the *Lü shih ch'un ch'iu* and the *Huai-nan-tzŭ*; i. e., towards the end of the third century B. C.

I have not found the *Lao-tzŭ nei-chuan* quoted by the *Tz'ü-yüan* under 太上老君.

<sup>7</sup> 其自言也 I do not believe that this can be translated in any other way. The account that follows, however, is applicable only to the *tao* itself, which seems to be known to the *Sui shu* (35.12a<sup>1-3</sup>) in a personified form as *Yüan-shih-t'ien-tsun*. Judging from the fragments that remain (v. note 6a) this might be an account based on the *hua hu ching*. Cf. *Fo tsu t'ung chi* 佛祖統紀 38, (dated 1260-1275) *Taishō* 49.354B: Lao-tzŭ is a saint. At one time he is in heaven as the prince of princes; at another

thousand sorts [of things], above he dwelt in the Jade Capital<sup>8</sup> as the ancestor of the Princes of Divinities,<sup>9</sup> and below he was in the constellation *tzü-wei*<sup>10</sup> as the Chief of the flying genii.<sup>11</sup> In his thousand transformations and ten thousand transmutations he has an uncharacterizable character. According to the stimulus he becomes an object, but his [visible] form is not permanent. He taught Hsien-yüan<sup>12</sup> on Mount O-mei,<sup>13</sup> and instructed Ti

time he splits his form and descends to give instruction. According to the occasion he manifests [himself], then we see him.

<sup>8</sup> Probably to be located in the highest of the Taoist heavens, but I have not found any other texts that talk definitely about it. Cf. *Sui shu* 12a<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> This term 神王 has all the appearance of being a translation of *devarāja*, which appears in the Buddhist books as *t'ien-wang* 天王. The expression is quoted by the *Pei-wên yün-fu* 22A.147b (200 vol. small format edition) from two stelae in Buddhist temples and seems to be the equivalent of *devarāja*.

<sup>10</sup> 紫微 in the vicinity of the polar star.

<sup>11</sup> One of the signs of geniehood of the first class. Cf. note 4. V. Pao-p'ü-tzū, *nei p'ien*, 11, translated in DeGroot (v. note 3), p. 328, where, 5 lines from bottom, we must correct to: "His body sprouts feathers and he will attain geniehood 行廚 (v. infra) immediately." Cf. also DeGroot, op. cit., p. 300, where the last line must read: "He who eats it will not die, and his appearance will be that of a bird which flies."

I have not found any definition for *hsing-ch'ü* in our dictionaries, but the passage just quoted and the examples given in *Pei wên yün fu* (v. note 9) 7A.154a, and supplement 7.20b, demand the translation "genie" or "geniehood." Cf. also Pao-p'ü-tzū, *nei p'ien*, 11.9b where, after describing the results of eating various medicines (life prolonged, sickness vanishes, white hair turns black, fallen teeth reappear), the Taoist is told that the Jade Maid (v. note 57a) will then appear to serve him, and he may use her help to attain geniehood (*hsing-ch'ü*). The Jade Maid, he is further told, has as her distinguishing mark a piece of yellow jade the size of a grain of millet or rice on her nose. Such is the true Jade Maid. Anyone lacking this mark would be a ghost 鬼 trying to act like a human being.

At the present time I am unable to explain the semasiology of this expression.

<sup>12</sup> 軒轅 the Yellow Emperor, first in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's list of the 5 mythical emperors. For his legend v. Wieger 293, *Tao-tsang* 139, ch. 1. Mayers 225; Giles 871. Wieger 291, *Tao-tsang* 138, A.2b; Wieger 287, *Tao-tsang* 137. *Shih i chi* (Commercial Press *Han Wei ts'ung shu*) 1.3b-4b. V. also index to Granet's *Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne*.

<sup>13</sup> 峨嵋 in Ssü-ch'uan, 270 li SSW of Ch'êng-tu.

K'ü<sup>14</sup> at Mu-tê.<sup>15</sup> Yü the Great<sup>16</sup> learned a formula for prolonging life, and Yin Hsi<sup>17</sup> received the instructions regarding *t'ao* and *tê* [from him.]

Turning now to the *Tan-shu* and *Tzŭ-tzŭ*, which are the books of the genii,<sup>18</sup> and the jade-stone and gold-brilliance, which have been marvellously explained by the Ling[-pao]-tung[-hsüan],<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> 帝 堯 third in Ssü-ma Ch'ien's list of the 5 mythical emperors. Receives only passing notice in Wiegier 293, (v. note 12) ch. 1.25b, and *HYSO* 1.10b. V. Granet, op. cit.

<sup>15</sup> 牧 德 must be a place name, but I do not find it elsewhere.

<sup>16</sup> 禹 legendary founder of Hsia, the first Chinese dynasty. Giles 1846; Mayers 931.

<sup>17</sup> 尹 喜 the guardian of the pass with whom, the legend has it, Lao-tzŭ left the *Tao-tê-ching*. Giles 2490; Mayers 923. V. *Lieh hsien chuan* 列仙傳 A.5a, Wiegier 291, *Tao-tsang* 138. He is the reputed author of the forged philosophical text Kuan-yin-tzŭ 關尹子, Wiegier 662, 721, 722, *Tao-tsang* 347, 450-454. Cf. Wylie's *Notes*, p. 217.

<sup>18</sup> 丹書紫字昇玄飛步之經 *Tan-shu* can hardly mean any more than "red writing," i. e., texts written in red characters. Pao-p'ü-tzŭ, *nei p'ien* 17.14b: [on the talisman] in red writing, write the character large on a tablet of peach-tree wood, so that it covers the tablet completely.

*Tzŭ-tzŭ*, "purple characters," is probably a synonym of *tan-shu*. On *tzŭ-tzŭ* v. *YCCC* 7.12a and *tzŭ-shu* in *YCCC* 8.23a.

It seems to me that "mounting to the mystery" and "flying paces" must signify genii. V. notes 4 and 11. Cf. *Sui shu* 13a<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> 玉石金光妙有靈洞之說. The term *ling-tung* raises the complicated question of the celestial hierarchy in Taoism. The system described in Wiegier's *Taoisme* I, p. 22 (dated 1845) and Maspero's *Mythologie* (v. note 3), p. 239 justifies the following scheme:

	Orb	Name of Doctrine
妙一 > 三元 = 三清	天寶君 or 元始天尊	玉清境 洞真教
	靈 ,, ,, or 玉皇上帝	上 ,, ,, ,, 玄 ,,
	神 ,, ,, or 金闕王晨天尊	太 ,, ,, ,, 神 ,,

Wei shu 10b<sup>12</sup> speaks of *san-yüan* (why the *Tz'ü-yüan* s. v. quotes the *Hou Han shu* 105. 2b<sup>8</sup> I do not know), which might be equated with the same group mentioned in our table, yet attention must be called to the fact that the *Tao fa hui yüan* 道法會元, an anonymous compendium of Taoism consisting chiefly of forms for petitions to the divinities and

it is impossible to exhaust the count of such texts.<sup>20</sup>

In their (Taoists') teaching they completely dispel the bonds of evil and purify the soul. They heap up practices to establish merit,<sup>21</sup> and embrace virtue to increase the good, so that finally they mount to heaven in broad day-light, or prolong their lives in the world. Consequently, the Ch'in<sup>22</sup> emperor and [the emperor] Wu<sup>23</sup> of the Han were highly pleased [with these teachings]. The emperor Huan built a Flowered Canopy in the Cho-lung [palace], and, setting up an altar, worshipped [Lao-tzū].<sup>24</sup>

Chang Ling<sup>25</sup> received the *tao* on the Ku-ming<sup>26</sup> mountain,

talismans (Wieger 1203, *Tao-tsang* 884-941, ch. 3.6b) lists *san-yüan* distinct from the *san-ch'ing* and lodges each in a particular "palace":

上元道化明曜妙感真君	dwells in 上元洞清宮
中“護正丹輝”道““	dwells in 中““彰“
下“定志符映“““	dwells in 下““靈“

The *Sui shu* has much to say about the Yüan-shih-t'ien-tsun, who also appears in the above table, but from the *Sui shu's* description one would be inclined to equate him with the *tao* or *miao-i*. In 13a<sup>8</sup> *Sui shu* also mentions the *Ling-pao*. We find, however, in neither *Wei shu* nor *Sui shu* another name to fill the third place. A thoro working thru of the material on the Trinity in the *Tao-tsang* will probably clear up the history of this group and the vicissitudes of its incumbents. The 天中三真 of *Wei shu* 12a<sup>8</sup> is probably a synonym.

The term *ling-pao* is found in *Pao-p'u-tzū*, e. g., *nei p'ien* 12.6b<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> For 人 of the histories read 文 with Wang Hsien-ch'ien's Sung edition; v. 魏書校勘記 p. 52b.

<sup>21</sup> V. *Pao-p'u-tzū* as given by Wieger's *Croyances*, p. 387.

<sup>22</sup> Ch'in Shih-huang-ti, 259-210 B. C. V. Giles 1712 and *T'oung Pao* 27. 69-74. For his legend v. *Shih i chi* [cf. note 12] 4.5b-7b.

<sup>23</sup> 156-87 B. C. Giles 1276. Chavannes, *Mémoires Historiques* I. LXII-CVIII. His legend is in Wieger 289-290, *Tao-tsang* 137.

<sup>24</sup> 桓濯龍. Our text reads "emperor Ling" 靈 (168-189) and "kuan-lung" 灌, but the story appears elsewhere. V. Pelliot, *BEFEO* 6.389.

<sup>25</sup> 張陵. This is the man whom tradition has turned into the first "Taoist Pope," a title which, it is said, has been handed down since then to the present day in the Chang family. Previous writers, Pelliot in *BEFEO* 3.104 and 314, Aurousseau in *BEFEO* 11.211-212 (who give earlier literature and references), and DeGroot in the *Trans. of the Third Intl. Cong. for Hist. of Relig.* (Oxford 1908) I. 138-141 have already exposed the legendary character of these claims. They receive a further blow in *Wei shu* 11b<sup>10</sup>.

The dates given for him in Giles 112 are wholly illusory; floruit second



whereupon he transmitted 1200 works from the officials of heaven. His pupils have taught [them] to one another.

As for the things which are widely current—fasting, making of offerings, kneeling, and bowing—each leads along the path of the doctrine.

There are [in the universe] three *yüans*, nine departments, and one hundred and twenty officials,<sup>27</sup> all of which [positions] are in the control of the divinities.

Moreover, [the Taoists] speak of Kalpa-divisions,<sup>28</sup> rather like the Buddhist *sūtras*. Yen-k'ang, Lung-han, Ch'ih-ming, and K'ai-huang are their names.<sup>29</sup> When a Kalpa ends, they say that heaven and earth will be entirely 11a<sup>1</sup> destroyed.

quarter of second century would be a possible suggestion. The name Tao-ling is certainly to be construed as a *tzü* or *hao*, and Aourousseau's theory should be rejected. Cf. *Wei shu* 13b<sup>4-5</sup> Wang Tao-i.

His legend is related in *LSTC* 18.5a (= Wiegier 293, *Tao-tsang* 142) and *Shên-hsien-chuan* (v. note 6a) 4. DeGroot (v. *supra*) has translated a portion of the latter, but the following alterations must be made in his translation: p. 140 "He appointed priests (on 祭酒 v. *BEFEO* 6.380) to rule over these households [which believed in him] like officials and headmen [this is the first sentence of the last paragraph]"; p. 141, lines 1-3: "; but the foolish, not knowing that [these orders] were made by Chang Ling, considered the texts to have been sent down from heaven."

V. also Wiegier 1442 (prefaced 1593), *Tao-tsang* 1066; *HYSC* 7, 21b-25b. There is attributed to him as author: Wiegier 617, 619-621; *Tao-tsang* 341.

<sup>26</sup> 鵠鳴 for this name we find in the Taoist accounts *Hao-ming* 鵠鳴 which the *Tz'ü-yüan* locates about 50 li W of Ch'êng-tu in Ssü-ch'uan *San-kuo-chih* (*Wei chih*) 8.9b<sup>7</sup>, however, reads as here in *Wei shu*.

<sup>27</sup> This looks like a description of the celestial hierarchy. For *san-yüan* v. note 19. For 九府 I can refer only to the *Tao fa hui yüan* (v. note 19) 3.9a-b 九司 which begins

1. 王府判府眞君
2. " " 左右侍中
3. 左右僕射
4. 天雷上相, etc.

On the 120 官 I have found nothing.

<sup>28</sup> 劫數 v. Ting Fu-pao's *Fo hsüeh ta tz'ü tien* 1224A where it is the equivalent of *yuga*. In the Indian cosmology 4 *yuga* is the equivalent of 1 *kalpa*, and, while drawing parallels, it should be recalled that the Greeks spoke of four ages: gold, silver, bronze, and iron. V. P. Deussen, *Geschichte der Philosophie* I. 3. pp. 46-47. Cf. *Sui shu* 12a<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> 延康 龔 漢 赤明, 開皇 Same list in *Sui shu* 12a<sup>8</sup>.

Their writings contain many prohibitions and secrets, and, if not a pupil, one cannot understand them.

As for transforming gold,<sup>30</sup> melting jade,<sup>31</sup> using talismans, and preparing water,<sup>32</sup> efficacious recipes and marvellous formulae exist by thousands and tens of thousands. The best [formulae] are said to produce feathers for flying to heaven; the next best are said to dissipate calamity and exterminate disaster. Consequently, lovers of the marvellous are the ones who usually respect and practise them.

Formerly, when the emperor Wên<sup>33</sup> enjoyed the hospitality of Chin, his followers bent their efforts to acquire the appearance of

<sup>30</sup> 化金. This would seem to be a reference to the *chin-i* 金液 "gold-essence" described in *Pao-p'u tzü, nei p'ien* 4, especially from 14a<sup>3</sup> on. Judging from the content of the chapter, the title *Chin Tan* 金丹 is to be interpreted as Gold and Elixir. From the very beginning of the chapter emphasis is laid upon the fact that *huan-tan* 還丹 and *chin-i*, "these two," are the supreme attainments on the road to geniehood; that "from antiquity no genie who had taken these two had ever failed to attain geniehood." There is then a long description and discussion of the preparation of *huan-tan*, which is followed in turn by a brief description of *chin-i*. The latter is considered the easier to prepare; the only stumbling-block is that "gold is hard to get" (15a<sup>9-10</sup>). Joseph Edkins has translated some selections from this chapter in the *Trans. of the China Branch of the R. A. S.* (this is different from the *North China Branch*), part V (1855), article IV, pp. 83-99. Selections from this translation have been reprinted by Davis and Wu (v. note 5). V. also Waley in *BSOS* 6. 1-24. O. S. Johnson's *A Study of Chinese Alchemy* (Commercial Press, 1928) may be consulted along with Laufer's review in *Isis* 12. 330-331.

To make the elixir 神丹, emperor Wu of the Liang is said to have provided T'ao Hung-ching (*Sui shu* 12b<sup>1-12</sup>) with gold 黃金 cinnabar 朱砂, blue vitriol(?) 普青, and yellow orpiment(?) 雄黃; he succeeded in making it 飛丹, its color being that of frost or snow. V. *Nan shih* 76.5b<sup>2-3</sup>; but cf. *Sui shu* 12b<sup>10-11</sup>. Cf. note 11.

<sup>31</sup> 銷玉 It must first be liquefied. V. *Pao-p'u tzü, nei p'ien* 11.9b<sup>7</sup>-10a<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> 行符, 勅水 This last probably refers to the type of activity ascribed to Chang Chio, who is said to have given the sick "talismans-water" to drink. V. note to 三張 in *Wei shu* 11b<sup>13</sup>. Text in *San kuo chih* 8.9b<sup>13</sup> and *Hou Han shu* 105.2b<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> 文 Son of a chieftain of the T'o-pa who was killed in 277, the same year in which his father died. *Wei shu* 1.2a<sup>13</sup>-2h<sup>12</sup>; *Pei shih* 1.1h<sup>10</sup>-2a<sup>3</sup>. The title "emperor" is entirely honorific, for he never ruled.

divinities free from the world and to become genii at a monastery in the mountains of the Pillars of the I.<sup>34</sup> Those who were learned in these matters all said that the prosperity of Wei would be great.

T'ai-tsu<sup>35</sup> (377-409) liked the words of Lao-tzū and was never weary of studying them. In the period T'ien-hsing (398-404) the *i-ts'ao-lang* Tung Mi<sup>36</sup> presented, accordingly, a *Fu-shih hsien-ching*<sup>37</sup> in several tens of chapters. Thereupon, there was established a chair of Taoism,<sup>38</sup> and there was built<sup>39</sup> a Taoist quarter for the concoction and preparation of medicines.<sup>40</sup> The Western Mountain was appointed to supply the wood and twigs for the fire. It was ordered that those guilty of capital offences try it (the concoction); but, since it was not their original intention [to obtain immortality], many died without proving [the efficacy of the potion].<sup>40a</sup> Since T'ai-tsu was still going to carry on [this

<sup>34</sup> 伊闕 Lung-mên in Ho-nan-fu.

<sup>35</sup> 太祖 Under the Wei two rulers had this title: (1) The chief who ruled 317-321, T'o-pa Yü-lü 拓跋鬱律; cf. *Wei shu* 1.5a<sup>1-10</sup> and *Pei shih* 1.2b<sup>12-3a</sup>; (2) The one here referred to; Giles 1949; dates 371-409; ruler from 377 *Wei shu* 2; *Pei shih* 1.4a-10a.

<sup>36</sup> 儀曹郎 董謐 An officer of the Board of Rites. Mentioned in *Wei shu* 24.12a<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> 服食仙經 Book on Diet-following Genii.

<sup>38</sup> 仙人博士

<sup>39</sup> At this time the capital was at P'ing-ch'êng 平城 5 li E. of Ta-t'ung-fu in N. Shansi.

<sup>40</sup> Such is the translation that I am trying to maintain for 藥. It includes all the things composing the Taoist's diet and the ingredients of his elixir. Cf. reference at end of note 30.

<sup>40a</sup> On the will to attain geniehood, cf. Pao-p'u-tzū, *nei-p'ien* 12.3h: "If it is not your fate to become a genie, then most certainly you will not like [the thought of striving for] geniehood. There has never been a person who sought for these things without liking geniehood, and no one has yet got it without seeking. From antiquity to the present there have been those who, though endowed with eminent capacities and knowledge, do not believe in the existence of the genii; and there are plain, ordinary persons who have got geniehood from study. The first group, though knowing much, is ignorant in regard to the genii; the second group, though ignorant of many things, understands thoroughly their principle. Isn't this something caused by fate?" 苟不受神仙之命,則必無好仙之心.未有心不好之而求其事也.未有不求而得之者也.自古至今有高才明達而不信有仙者.有平

concoction], the Grand Physician, Chou Tan,<sup>41</sup> distressed at this labor of cooking and gathering [of medicine], wanted to abolish the activity. Consequently, he secretly got his wife to bribe a concubine of the Professor of Taoism, Chang Yao,<sup>42</sup> to learn of his secret wrongs. In fear of death [Chang] Yao requested permission to abstain from cereals.<sup>43</sup> T'ai-tsu gave his consent and furnished Yao with the necessities. He built for him a Pure Chamber in the park and furnished two families for the upkeep, but the concoction of medicines was carried on as before without respite. In time, however, T'ai-tsu's interest gradually waned and ceased.

During Shih-tsu's <sup>44</sup> time (424-452) there was the Taoist practitioner 11a<sup>7</sup> K'ou Ch'ien-chih,<sup>45</sup> tzŭ Fu-chên, the younger brother of the governor of the province of Nan-yung,<sup>46</sup> [K'ou] Tsan,<sup>47</sup> who claimed to be a descendant in the thirteenth generation of K'ou Hsün.<sup>48</sup> From an early age he took to Taoism and had a mind

平許人學而得仙者。甲雖多所鑒識而或蔽於仙。乙則多所不通而偏達其理。此豈非天命之所使然乎。

<sup>41</sup> 周澹 Died 419. *Wei shu* 91.10a<sup>2</sup>; *Pei shih* 90.1a.

<sup>42</sup> 張曜 No further information.

<sup>43</sup> 辟穀 This is a common expression from the *Shih-chi* on. It seems to mean to dispense with normal human food and use in its place the medicines which would produce geniehood. It naturally required withdrawal from normal activity and living as a hermit. Pao-p'u-tzu, *nei p'ien*, 12.1a uses 斷穀 as a synonym.

<sup>44</sup> 世祖 Dates 408-452. V. Giles 1952; *Wei shu* 4A and B; *Pei shih* 2.1a-9a.

<sup>45</sup> 寇謙之, 輔真 Died 442. *Pei shih* 27.8a<sup>3</sup> gives his ming as Ch'ien. Originally a native of Shang-ku 上谷 = N. Hopei (Chihli) within the two walls. From there the family moved to the subprefecture of Wan-nien 萬年 in the prefecture of P'ing-i 馮翊, i. e., the modern Sianfu in Shensi.

For his story v. also *HYSC* 7.36b-42b.

<sup>46</sup> 南雍州 The Commercial Press Geographical Dictionary tells us that this province was established in 416-423, and that later the name was changed to Lo 洛. I have not found such a statement in the *Wei shu*.

<sup>47</sup> 讀, tzŭ, Fêng-kuo 奉國 Dates 363-448; *Wei shu* 42.3b<sup>7</sup> and *Pei shih* 27.8a<sup>3</sup>. He held important administrative posts under the Wei.

<sup>48</sup> 恂, tzŭ, Tzŭ-i 子翼. Died 36 A. D. A staunch defender of the restoration. V. *Hou Han shu* 46.7b<sup>12</sup>-10a<sup>4</sup>. He was a native of Shang-ku.

detached from every-day matters. As a young man he practised the arts of Chang Lu,<sup>49</sup> and controlled his eating and tasted medicines for several years without result; but he reached the pinnacle of perfect sincerity.

A certain genie, Ch'êng-kung Hsing<sup>50</sup> (it is not known where he came from) arrived at the home of Ch'ien-chih's aunt to rent out his services. Whenever Ch'ien-chih visited his aunt, he remarked Hsing's powerful physique and his unwearied strength. Having asked to return [home] and employ Hsing to work for him, he took [him] back (to his home). After directing him to open up a fallow field south of the house, Ch'ien-chih sat under a tree calculating. When Hsing had worked diligently for a time at breaking up the ground, he came to look at the calculation. Ch'ien-chih said to him, "You merely do physical work; why are you looking at this?" Two or three days later he again came to look at it; and so on. After Ch'ien-chih had calculated for seven days, there was something that he did not understand, and he was beside himself with annoyance. Hsing said to Ch'ien-chih, "Why are you discontented?" Ch'ien-chih replied, "I have studied mathematics for several years, but my present calculation does not agree with the *Chou pei*;<sup>51</sup> consequently I am ashamed of myself. However, it's nothing that you know; why bother to ask about it?" Hsing said, "Arrange it according to my directions." Immediately it was solved. Ch'ien-chih praised him and showed him his respects, and, without sounding out Hsing's depth [of wisdom] asked him to be his teacher. Hsing firmly refused and was unwilling. On the contrary, he asked to become Ch'ien-chih's pupil.

After a short time he said to Ch'ien-chih, "It is your intention to study the *tao*. Can you go into a retreat with me?" Ch'ien-chih gladly assented, and Hsing then had him fast for three days.

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<sup>49</sup> 張魯, *tzü*, Kung-ch'i 公祺. He came into prominence following the revolt of the Yellow Turbans. Floruit 200 A. D. Last mentioned in 215 when he submitted to Ts'ao Ts'ao and was ennobled by him. V. BEFEO references in note 25; also note 64.

<sup>50</sup> 成公興 *HYSC* 7.35b-36a (*Tao-tsang* 552) gives some details of his legend as coming from the *Hou Wei shu*, but I have not found them in our *Wei shu*.

<sup>51</sup> 周髀 Translated by Ed. Biot in *JA*, 3<sup>e</sup> série, t. 11 (1841), 593-639. V. Wylie's *Notes*, p. 106, and H. Maspero in *T'oung Pao* 26.330. It is a book on mathematics and astronomy dating, probably, from the first Han.

Together they entered Mount Hua,<sup>52</sup> and he made Ch'ien-chih live in a cave, 11b<sup>1</sup> while he himself went out and gathered medicines.<sup>53</sup> On his return he and Ch'ien-chih ate medicines so that they would not be hungry again. Then he took Ch'ien-chih to Mount Sung<sup>53a</sup> where there was a three-storied cave, and made Ch'ien-chih live in the second storey for several years.

[One day] Hsing said to Ch'ien-chih, "After I have gone out a man will come with medicine. When you get it just eat it without any hesitation." When the man did come with the medicine, it consisted entirely of poisonous bugs and things with a stench. Ch'ien-chih was badly frightened and ran away. When Hsing returned he asked for a report, and he told him all. Hsing sighed and said, "You can not yet become a genie. You can merely become the teacher of emperors."

When Hsing had served Ch'ien-chih for seven years, he said to him, "I cannot stay any longer. Tomorrow at noon I must go away. After I have died, you would do well to wash [me], for someone will come to visit [me]." Thereupon he entered the third storey and died. Ch'ien-chih himself did the bathing, and the next day at noon someone knocked at the cave. Ch'ien-chih went out to look and saw two boys. One held a Law-garment; the other held a begging-bowl and a staff.<sup>54</sup> Ch'ien-chih conducted them to

<sup>52</sup> 華 In Shensi just south of the Yellow river where it turns to enter Honan. K'ou Ch'ien-chih's home was in P'ing-i 馮翌, the modern Kao-ling 高陵 in Shensi about 60 li NNE of Sianfu.

<sup>53</sup> One way to prepare oneself for geniehood was to "mount into a mountain and gather medicines [to eat in place of ordinary food]" 登山採藥 V. Pao-p'u-tzū, *nei-p'ien* 12.1a. An evident gesture of sympathetic magic. As a religious step of importance it was necessary to prepare oneself for it by a fast. Pao-p'u-tzū discusses this in ch. 17 登涉 of his *nei-p'ien*.

<sup>53a</sup> 嵩 In Honan, about 159 li ESE of Lo-yang.

<sup>54</sup> These three are the paraphernalia of a Buddhist monk. The first two are very well known. The last 錫杖 is generally overlooked. It is approved by the Pāli Vinaya (*SBE* 17.20 and 20.294), but it does not seem regular and no description is given of it. The Chinese Vinayas and the pilgrims are well acquainted with it. The Sarvāstivādin Vinaya, *Taishō* 23.417A<sup>18</sup> says it was allowed in order to frighten away the poisonous reptiles which used to bite the monks, and describes it as of metal in the upper part, in which were inserted metal rings that produced a rattling

where Hsing's corpse lay. Hsing immediately got up, put on the garment, took the bowl, grasped the staff, and departed. 11b<sup>6</sup>

Formerly there was a man of Pa-ch'êng<sup>55</sup> in Ching-chao,<sup>56</sup> Wang Hu-êrh.<sup>57</sup> When his uncle had died there were quite a number of miracles. Once he [returned in the spirit and] took Hu-êrh to a particular peak on the top of Mount Sung. Together they strolled about and saw gold dwellings and jade chambers. There was one house that was quite luxurious. It was empty and not a person was in it. Its name-board read "The House of Ch'êng-kung Hsing." Hu-êrh marvelled and asked about it. His uncle replied, "This is the house of the immortal Ch'êng-kung Hsing. Charged with burning down seven chambers, he was sentenced to become the pupil of Ch'ien-chih for seven years." Then for the first time it was known that Ch'ien-chih's perfect sincerity had reached great lengths. As for the immortal Hsing, when his sentence had been served, he went away; but Ch'ien-chih kept to his purpose on Mount Sung with unwearied devotion.

On the *i-mao* day of the tenth month of the second year of the period Shên-jui (Nov. 22, 415) lo and behold a great divinity, riding on a cloud and mounted upon a dragon, leading the hundred spirits, and waited upon and surrounded on all sides by genii and the Jade Maid,<sup>57a</sup> gathered on the top of the mountain. One

noise. For further information v. Ting, 2717C; I-ching, translated by Takakusu. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, p. 191; also travels of Hsüan-tsang, Julien, I. 33.

Sakaki's *Mahāvīyutpatti* 8955 calls it a *khakkhara*; the Pāli, *kattara-danḍa*. There is a *Khakkharasūtra* mentioned in Nanjiō 691 (*Taishō* 17), which is attributed to the period 317-420.

<sup>55</sup> 霸城 East of Sianfu.

<sup>56</sup> 京兆 The prefecture including Sianfu.

<sup>57</sup> 王胡兒 No further information.

<sup>57a</sup> The elucidation of the term Jade Maid 玉女 must await a separate article. The evidence in the material which I am now translating (here, *Wei shu* 11b<sup>13</sup>, and *Sui shu* 12b<sup>13</sup>) along with the end of my note 11 and Pao-p'u-tzū, *nei p'ien* 4.6a<sup>11</sup> leave her an exceedingly indefinite individual. They merely permit us to say that she is a goddess who helps those who have made certain progress toward geniehood.

To-day, as a bestower of children, a Jade Maid is worshipped thruout China, especially as the Princess of the Colored Clouds *Pi-hsia-yüan-chün* 碧霞元君, daughter of the deity of T'ai shan. V. Chavannes, *Le T'ai Chan*, in *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Etudes*, vol. 21 (1910),

known as T'ai-shang-lao-chün addressed Ch'ien-chih, "Formerly in the year *Hsin-hai* (411), the guardian spirit of Mount Sung, chief of the palace of the assembled immortals, petitioned the officials of heaven, saying, 'Since the Celestial Master Chang Ling<sup>58</sup> has left the world, the world has lacked sincerity<sup>59</sup> and those who practise goodness have been without a master's instruction.<sup>60</sup> The Taoist practitioner of Mount Sung, K'ou Ch'ien-chih of Shang-ku, is a man of fine appearance and upright principles, whose conduct accords with naturalness, and who has the capacity to be employed as chief of the law, and who can<sup>61</sup> occupy the position of Master.' I have come, therefore, to inform you and hand over to you the position of Celestial Master. There is conferred upon you the commandments of the new code, in twenty rolls, which are to be recited on an air of Yün-chung.<sup>62</sup> They are known as *Ping-chin*<sup>63</sup> words. The commandments of this sūtra of mine have not been transmitted to the world since the opening up of heaven and earth. Today, fate favors their issuance. You will proclaim my new code and purify and rectify instruction in the *tao*. You will banish the false doctrine of the three Chang.<sup>64</sup>

pp. 70-72. H. Doré, *Manuel des Superstitions Chinoises*, Shanghai, 1926, p. 1.

<sup>58</sup> V. note 25.

<sup>59</sup> *Fo tsu t'ung chi* 38, *Taishō* 49.354A reads "officials" 職.

<sup>60</sup> CFYK's 受 can be so construed as well as our 授.

<sup>61</sup> CFYK inserts a 可 before 處.

<sup>62</sup> 雲中音誦新科之誡. Cf. *Sui shu* 12a<sup>7</sup>. Yün-chung was a prefecture (cf. *Wei shu* 106A.27b) near the modern city of Sui-yüan.

<sup>63</sup> 並進言 Cf. below 12a<sup>7</sup>. No further information.

<sup>64</sup> 三張 *Fo tsu t'ung chi* 38, *Taishō* 49.354A names in a note to a similar statement Chang Ling (v. note 25), Chang Hsiu 修, and Chang Chio 角. It seems to me more logical, however, that it should refer to the succession of father, son, and grandchild, Chang Ling, Chang Hêng 衡, and Chang Lu 魯 given in *San kuo chih* 8.9b<sup>7-8</sup> and *Hou Han shu* 105.2b<sup>1-3</sup> (to be used only with *San kuo chih*): "Chang Lu, *tzü* Kung-ch'í 公祺, was a native of Fêng 豐 in P'ei-kuo 沛國 [in extreme NW Kiangsu, same country as Kao-tsu of Han]. His grandfather [Chang] Ling visited Shu [Ssü-ch'uan] and studied the Tao on Mt. Ku-ming [v. note 26]. He manufactured writings on the Tao to deceive the people. Those who received [instruction in] the Tao from him paid [him] five pecks of rice; consequently, people called him 'rice-thief.' When [Chang] Ling died his



Rice levies and money taxes, and the methods for the union of the vital breaths of male and female—does the purity and freedom of the great *tao* have to do with such things? More particularly, you will take the regulations of good behavior for the chief thing, and

son [Chang] Hêng practised his teaching 道. When Hêng died [Chang] Lu, in turn, practised it.” These are the three that I would identify as the Three Chang. I consider it quite evident, however, that we are dealing here with a legend. Chang Lu undoubtedly existed and probably died a natural death sometime after 215 A. D. (v. *San kuo chih* 1.16b<sup>7</sup>). The doctrines associated with his name were also undoubtedly practised. It is hard, however, for me to dissociate the Chang Hêng here mentioned from the Chang Hêng who has a biography in *Hou Han shu* 89 (dates 78-139), Giles 55. It is my feeling that the Chang Ling legend has seized upon the name of Chang Hêng simply because it is a name that had filtered down well among the people, and being a man of great learning, it was quite natural for the popular mind to attribute superior powers to him (cf. Kuo P’o and K’ung An-kuo who have biographies in *Shên-hsien-chuan* 9). There is no reason whatever, except this legend, for declaring Chang Hêng to be the son of Chang Ling. The latter’s legend has him come from a totally different place (NW Kiangsu) from that ascribed to Chang Hêng (SW Honan).

Of the other two men mentioned above from the *Fo tsu t’ung chi* the first, Chang Hsiu (*San kuo chih* 8.9b<sup>13</sup> writes 脩 which is not only a wrong character, but the ming of a totally different person; v. *ibid.* 9b<sup>8-9</sup>), was imprisoned and executed in 178 (*Hou Han shu* 8.4a<sup>11</sup>). The little that we know of his Taoist teachings is contained in the commentaries to *San kuo chih* 8.9b<sup>13</sup>-10a<sup>3</sup> and *Hou Han shu* 105.2b<sup>8-9</sup>, the latter being abbreviated and containing some misstatements. The second, Chang Chio, was a leader of the Yellow Turbans, and died in 184, the year of their outbreak. His doctrine is described along with Chang Hsiu’s. DeGroot has collected together and translated the texts referring to these men (v. note 25), but, as usual, his translations must be used with the text in one’s hand. I should like to make a couple of remarks on that part of his translation which interests us most at this time.

P. 145, line 11, he would translate 緇匿法 as “the means of making oneself invisible.” I should like to see further examples of this expression, but search has not revealed any.

P. 145, line 21-26 read: “They create Officers-against-Evil 姦令 and Priests 祭酒. The chief duty of the Priests is to have the Five Thousand Characters [the *Tao-tê-ching*] studied everywhere. Those known as Officers-against-Evil or Officials-in-control-of-Demons 鬼吏 [cf. *Hou Han shu* 105.2b<sup>3</sup>: the neophytes are called ‘Soldiers-against-the-demons’ 鬼卒] have as their chief business to pray for the sick [the sickness being caused by demons].”

add to them the regulation of diet and exercises [pursued] in secret." He had the Jade Maiden,<sup>65</sup> 12a<sup>1</sup> Ch'ang Jung-chih<sup>66</sup> and others of Chiu-i,<sup>67</sup> altogether twelve individuals, teach Ch'ien-chih oral recipes for breath-control and callisthenics.<sup>68</sup> [Then] he obtained [the ability] to dispense with mortal food, increase of vital breath, bodily levitation, and elegance of complexion. His pupils, ten odd individuals, received his method.

On the *wu-hsü* day of the tenth month of the eighth year of the period T'ai-ch'ang (November 23, 423) a certain *mu-t'u-shang-shih* Li P'u-wên<sup>69</sup> came to Mount Sung and said, "[I], the great-grandson of Lao-chün,<sup>70</sup> formerly lived at Sang-kan<sup>71</sup> in the prefecture of Tai.<sup>72</sup> In the time of the emperor Wu of the Han [I] obtained the *tao* and became chief of the palace of the *mu-t'u*, in charge of the government of the men and ghosts of the thirty-six lands.<sup>73</sup> This territory is 180,000 odd *li* on a side—the number of one astronomical period.<sup>74</sup> Those who therein control 10,000 [square] *li* number 360.<sup>75</sup> He has sent [me] his pupil to proclaim his instruction, saying, 'The square of ten thousand *li*, the level land of vast Han which is under the sway of Mount Sung, hand

<sup>65</sup> For 王 of histories read 玉女 with *CFYK* and *KHMC*.

<sup>66</sup> 長容之 I have found no further information.

<sup>67</sup> 九疑 name of a mt. 60 *li* S of Ning-yüan 寧遠 in central Hunan. Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* I. 91.

<sup>68</sup> 導引 physical and breathing exercises for limbering up the body and thus preparing it for the desired flight to heaven. V. *YCCC* 33.8a and 34.

<sup>69</sup> 牧土上師, 李譜文 Cf. *Sui shu* 13a<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> The equivalent of *t'ai-shang-lao-chün* 太上老君 or Lao-tzü.

<sup>71</sup> 桑乾 NE of Yü-chou 蔚 which is in the SW part of the portion of Chihli between the two walls. At present this portion between the walls belongs to the administration of Chahar.

<sup>72</sup> 代 included N Shansi between the walls plus the W half of the part of Chihli between the walls.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Chang Chio's 36 方, which means "general"; correct DeGroot p. 147 (v. note 25). The text is *Hou Han shu* 101.1a<sup>10</sup>: 遂置三十六方。方猶將軍號也。

<sup>74</sup> 蓋歷術一章之數也. I have not been able to get any further information on this remark.

<sup>75</sup> We have just been told that this square is more than 18 myriads on a side, and this is correct if the square is to contain 360 square myriads.  $18 \times 18 = 324$ ; but  $19 \times 19 = 361$ , which would be too large.

over to Ch'ien-chih.' He has composed a decree which reads: 'I dwell in the celestial palace where the true law is proclaimed. Your years in the *tao* number twenty-two; deducting ten years for your apprenticeship,<sup>76</sup> there remain twelve years [that you have been learned in the Tao]. Altho your teaching has been without striking results, you have put effort into your teaching. Today there is conferred upon you the promotion of entrance into the imperial palace and the four booklets<sup>77</sup> of *T'ai-chên-t'ai-pao-chiu-chou-chên-shih*, *Chih-kuei-shih*, *Chih-min-shih*, and *T'ien-shih*.<sup>78</sup> Practise [their prescriptions] diligently without growing weary, and according to your merit you will again be promoted. There is conferred upon you the grand booklet of the *T'ien-chung san-chên*<sup>79</sup> for ordering about all the divinities. You shall teach it to your pupils. (There are five sorts of booklets: 12a<sup>7</sup> 1. *Yin-yang-t'ai-kuan*; 2. *Chêng-fu-chên-kuan*; 3. *Chêng-fang-chên-kuan*; 4. *Hsü-kung-san-kuan*; 5. *Ping-chin-lu-chu*.<sup>80</sup> Each has a different type of altar-worship and dress-ceremonial.) Altogether there are sixty odd rolls, and it is known as the *Lu-t'u-chên-ching*.<sup>81</sup> They

<sup>76</sup> Read 童蒙 with CFYK for 竟! of histories.

<sup>77</sup> 錄 which here certainly equals 籙 which, in turn, equals 符籙 or 符書. They seem to have been a sort of prayer-book which contained talismans, i. e., the peculiar drawings found in Taoist books; the Pao-p'u-tzū has several. Cf. *Wei shu* 12b<sup>15</sup> and *Sui shu* 12a<sup>10-13</sup> and 12b<sup>7-8</sup>. The booklet was worn from the belt as a talisman against evil.

<sup>78</sup> 1. 太真太寶九州真師, Quite Veritable and Quite Precious Veritable Master of the Empire.

2. 治鬼師 The Master Who Controls the Demons.

3. 治民師 The Master Who Controls the People.

4. 天師 Celestial Master.

<sup>79</sup> 天中三真 The Three Veritables in Heaven. Possibly a reference to the celestial trinity. Cf. note 19.

<sup>80</sup> 1. 陰陽太官 Grand Officer of the Yin and Yang

2. 正府真官 Veritable Officer of the Main Department

3. 正房真官 " " " " " Room

4. 宿宮散官 General Officer of the Asterisms

5. 並進錄主 Chief of the Ping-chin Booklet.

Cf. note 63.

<sup>81</sup> 錄圖真經 The Veritable Book of Writings and Designs (probably referring to talismans).

The 百六十 of *Fo tsu t'ung chi* 38, *Taishō* 49.354A, is an error for 凡!!!.

are handed over to you to take and assist the *t'ai-p'ing-chên-chün*<sup>82</sup> of the north to issue the law of the *t'ien-kung-ching-lun*.<sup>83</sup> If you carry off a brilliant victory, you will become a Very Genie.

“Moreover, since the people on the earth are reaching the end of a kalpa, and the practising of the doctrine among them is very difficult, merely have men and women erect altars and shrines where they may worship morning and evening. If a household<sup>84</sup> is well-disciplined and understands supramundane matters, it is possible there [for the members of our faith] to exercise the body, prepare medicines, and study methods for prolonging life, and, becoming subjects of the Veritable Prince, teach recipes for the various medicines.

“The processes of melting and preparing gold and elixir,<sup>85</sup> mica, the essences of the eight stones, and jade all have particular formulae. Several books are written by the hand of the Supreme Master Mr. Li; the rest have been written by the *chêng-chên-shu-ts'ao* Chao Tao-fu.<sup>86</sup> As for [the booklets written in] the *ku-wên*, bird-scratch, seal, and *li* styles, the expressions and meanings are concise and exact, elegant and well-written.<sup>87</sup> Putting yourself for the most part on a level with the people of the world, prefer the good and pursue virtue. Belief [in the doctrine] arises first, then comes the diligent practise [thereof].

“Moreover, between heaven and earth there are thirty-six heavens in which there are thirty-six palaces. Each palace has one chief. The highest [chief] is called *wu-chi-chih-tsun*; the next, *ta-chih-chên-tsun*; the next, *t'ien-fu-ti-tsai-yin-yang-chên-tsun*; the next, *hung-chêng-chên-tsun*.”<sup>88</sup>

<sup>82</sup> 泰平真君 Veritable Prince of the Grand Peace, i. e., the emperor of the Wei. A *nien-hao* of this name was used from the sixth month of 440 to the sixth month of 451.

<sup>83</sup> 天宮靜論 *sāstra* of the Quietude of the Celestial Palace. Cf. 12b<sup>12</sup> and 13a<sup>1</sup>. All the texts agree.

<sup>84</sup> Reference to *I-ching* 4.7b<sup>1</sup> (13 classics, ed. of *Chin-chang* 錦章 Book-store, Shanghai); Wilhelm, I. 107; Legge p. 138, first paragraph of notes.

<sup>85</sup> 金丹 V. note 30.

<sup>86</sup> 正真書曹, 趙道覆 The Main Veritable Amanuensis. I have no further information regarding him.

<sup>87</sup> *Tao fa hui yüan* 100 (v. note 19) contains what are possibly examples of such texts. Cf. Wieger 29.

<sup>88</sup> 1. 無極至尊 Most Venerable without Peer.

One whose name was Chao Tao-yin<sup>89</sup> and who obtained the *tao* under the Yin<sup>90</sup> was the teacher of the *mu-t'u*. When the *mu-t'u* came, 12b<sup>1</sup> persons like Ch'ih Sung<sup>91</sup> and Wang Ch'iao<sup>92</sup> and the recent genii Han Tung,<sup>93</sup> Chang An-shih,<sup>94</sup> Liu Kên,<sup>95</sup> and Chang Ling also accompanied him. The *mu-t'u* commanded Ch'ien-chih like a child to form a friendship with all the genii. Ch'ien-chih asked all about the very obscure things which the world does not understand, and they were explained [to him] one by one.

The book [K'ou Ch'ien-chih's?] says: "As for the Buddha, formerly among the western barbarians he got the *tao*.<sup>96</sup> [Now] he is in the forty-second<sup>97</sup> heaven as chief of the *Yen-chên* palace.

2. 大至真尊 The Greatest Veritable Venerable.

3. 天復地載陰陽真尊 Veritable Venerable of the Yin and Yang who is covered by Heaven and Supported by Earth.

4. 洪正真尊 Vast and Main Veritable Venerable.

<sup>89</sup> 趙道隱 No further information.

<sup>90</sup> The second of the three renowned dynasties of Chinese antiquity.

<sup>91</sup> 赤松 *Lieh hsien chuan* A.1a (Wieger 291, *Tao-tsang* 138); *LSTC* 3.12 (v. note 25; *Tao-tsang* 139). A "rain-master" under the mythical Shên-nung.

<sup>92</sup> 王喬 *Lieh hsien chuan* A.14a; *LSTC* 3.12a-13b. He is placed in the period 571-545 B. C. and is associated with Mt. Sung. *Hou Han shu* 112A. 3b puts him in the period 58-75 A. D.

Those of the same name appearing in *LSTC* 5.21b (*Tao-tsang* 140) and 20.6b (*Tao-tsang* 142) are different from this one and also different from one another.

<sup>93</sup> 韓終 No further information.

<sup>94</sup> 張安世 Died 62 B. C. Correct Giles 19. *Shih chi* 122.5a<sup>5</sup>; *Han shu* 59.3b<sup>7</sup>-5b<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> 劉根 *LSTC* 20.13a-14 and *Shên hsien chuan* (v. note 6a) 3.2a-5b. Flourished at beginning of the Christian era. Wieger, *Textes historiques*<sup>2</sup> p. 1193; but *Hou Han shu* 112B.7a gives no dates.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. *Fo tsu t'ung chi* 54, *Taishō* 49.474B: "Under (the emperor) Hsiao-chao(?) 孝昭 of the Northern Wei the Taoist practitioner Chiang Pin quoted the *K'ai-t'ien-ching* 開天經 to the effect that Lao-tzū went to the West to convert the barbarians, and made the Buddha his servant." V. reference to Pelliot in note 6a.

If we read Hsiao-chao in this excerpt the dynasty must be changed to Northern Ch'i (560-561), for there was no emperor with such a posthumous title under the N. Wei. Otherwise the *chao* is a wrong character.

<sup>97</sup> There is no other reference to a forty-second heaven.

Because it is a doctrine of hardship and suffering, the disciples all shave their hair and dye their clothes, and do not follow normal human life. The garments of the gods are all like [theirs]."<sup>98</sup>

At the beginning of the period Shih-kuang (424-428) he received his book and presented it. Shih-tsu then ordered Ch'ien-chih to occupy the place [left vacant] by Chang Yao, and provided his food and supplies. When the court and the people heard of these things they were not quite sure whether they were true or not. Ts'ui Hao<sup>99</sup> alone marvelled at his words and employed him as his teacher and received his prescriptions. Thereupon he presented a memorial praising and explaining these matters: "Your minister has heard that, when the sage-rulers received the mandate, there was a sign from heaven. The Designs from the River and the Writing from the Lo,<sup>100</sup> however, both entrusted their message to the marks of insects and animals. Not yet has there been [anything] like today's meeting face to face of man and divinity, and the clearness of handwriting. The meaning of the expressions [of this book] is most profound; since antiquity there has been nothing comparable. Of old, altho Han Kao [-tsu] was on the throne,<sup>101</sup> the four greybeards were still ashamed of him and would not deviate from their principles.<sup>102</sup> Today, a genie of pure character who has been in retreat comes of his own accord unsummoned.

<sup>98</sup> This last sentence is omitted by CFYK. *KHMC* reads 天上 for 諸天

<sup>99</sup> 崔浩 381-450. Giles 2035; *Wei shu* 35 and 114.5a<sup>12</sup>; *Pei shih* 21.3a. His *tzü* is Po-yüan 伯淵. *Pei shih* writes Po-shên 深 because of the T'ang taboo.

<sup>100</sup> 河圖, 洛書 V. Mayer's Manual (1874) pp. 60-63. The *lo-shu* are described as markings on a tortoise which appeared to Yü (v. note 16). The *ho-t'u* are symbols said to have been found on the back of a dragon-horse which appeared to Fu-hsi 伏羲, a legendary ruler whom the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* places first in its list of the 5 emperors. He is also placed first in the list of the 3 augusti. V. Chavannes' *Mémoires Historiques* I, p. cexliii.

<sup>101</sup> 英聖 Cf. *Sung shu* 7.3a<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>102</sup> For this story v. *Shih chi* 55.4b<sup>4</sup>-5b<sup>2</sup> and *Han shu* 40.4a<sup>7</sup>-5a<sup>3</sup>. On the advice of Chang Liang (Giles 88; *Shih chi* 55; *Han shu* 40) these four worthies were summoned to the court to advise the crown prince when the emperor wanted to name another in his place. When the emperor inquired of them why they advised the crown prince and refused to help him, they replied quite frankly that it was because of his dislike for the scholars.

This truly is a sign that Your Majesty, just like Huang-ti, is in accord with heaven. 12b<sup>7</sup> Is it possible, because of the common chatter of the vulgar, to neglect the mandate of the supreme spiritual powers? Your minister would tremble at such a course." Shih-tsu was glad [to have this advice] and sent messengers to offer jade, silk, and animals in sacrifice to Mount Sung and to invite the rest of his [K'ou Ch'ien-chih's] disciples who were in the mountain to come. Thereupon, he honored the Celestial Master, and exalted the new teaching and proclaimed it to the empire. The Taoist teaching flourished to a high degree, and [Ts'ui] Hao employed the Celestial Master and honored him most respectfully. When someone mocked him and Hao heard of it he said, "Formerly, Chang Shih-chih<sup>103</sup> tied up the stocking of Wang shêng. I, altho my capacities lack goodness and understanding, now respect the Celestial Master that I may not be inferior to the man of old."

When the forty odd Taoist practitioners from Mount Sung arrived, there was erected a quarter for the Celestial Master south-east of the capital and an altar with five tiers [where they might] follow the precepts of their new book. Food and clothing were provided for 120 Taoist practitioners to fast and pray and worship at the six hours.<sup>104</sup> Monthly there were held banquets for several thousands of persons.

When Shih-tsu was about to go<sup>105</sup> on a punitive expedition against Ho-lien Ch'ang<sup>106</sup> the *T'ai-wei* Chang-sun Sung<sup>107</sup> objected. Shih-tsu then sought a forecast<sup>108</sup> from Ch'ien-chih, who replied,

<sup>103</sup> Giles 105; *shih chi* 102.2b<sup>5</sup>; *Han shu* 50.2a<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> 六時 This expression does not appear in the literature until after the introduction of Buddhism. It refers to the beginning, middle, and end of both day and night.

For definition v. Hsüan-tsang's *Hsi-yü chi* 2, Julien I. 61. I have found no mention of it, however, in the Pāli Vinaya.

<sup>105</sup> Probably in 426. V. *Wei shu* 4A.1b<sup>10</sup> and 2a<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> 赫連昌 A ruler of the Hsia 夏 (one of the Sixteen Kingdoms) which controlled Shensi and eastern Kansu 407-431. V. *Wei shu* 95.8a. He was killed in 434: v. *Wei shu* 4A.7a<sup>1</sup>; correct Tch'ang's *Synchronismes* p. 215. *T'ai ping yü lan* 127 gives no date for his death. He was ruler 425-428.

<sup>107</sup> 太尉長孫嵩 358-437. *Wei shu* 25; *Pei shih* 22; *Wei shu* 4A.8b<sup>2</sup>. *T'ai-wei* is best translated "Minister of War."

<sup>108</sup> 幽微 lit. the obscure and subtle. *P'ei wên yün fu* (s. v.) quotes the

"You will certainly conquer. Your Majesty's potential prowess<sup>109</sup> is in accord with the scheme of heaven.<sup>109a</sup> Command that the Nine Provinces be subdued now with your soldiers; later civil arts will take precedence over war to form the Very Prince of the Grand Peace."<sup>110</sup>

In the third year of the period [*T'ai-p'ing*]-*chên-chün* (442) Ch'ien-chih presented a petition: "To-day Your Majesty as a Very Prince rules the world and establishes the Heavenly Palace Doctrine of the Calm Wheel,<sup>111</sup> which has not existed since the beginning of antiquity. It is fitting that you come to receive the charm-booklet which will render illustrious your sage-like qualities." Shih-tsu followed his advice, and then went in person to the Taoist altar to receive the charm-booklet.<sup>112</sup> The royal chariot was bedecked with flags and banners entirely of blue to conform to the Taoist 13a<sup>1</sup> color.<sup>113</sup> From then on all the emperors upon mounting the throne followed his example.

When Kung-tsung<sup>114</sup> saw Ch'ien-chih's petition for building a Quiet Wheel Palace<sup>115</sup> which must be made so high that there

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*Wei lüeh*: "If you would know about the obscure and subtle, nothing is so good as the [*I-ching*]; about the list of regulations for man, nothing is so good as the *Li*." 欲知！！，莫若易，人倫之紀，莫若禮

<sup>109</sup> 神武 The *Tz'ü-yüan* (s. v.) quotes from the *I-ching*: "The wise and learned of antiquity were men of potential prowess, but non-killers."

古之聰明睿智！！而不殺者夫。

<sup>109a</sup> 天經 Undoubtedly an astrological expression signifying the general arrangement of stars and planets.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. note 82.

<sup>111</sup> 靜輪天宮之法 Cf. note 83.

<sup>112</sup> Feb. 2, 442. *Wei shu* 4B.1a<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>113</sup> I have not been able to find any further information regarding the question of colors. It should be recalled, however, that tradition has Lao-tzû ride away on a blue ox. Furthermore, in preparation for the uprising of 184 A. D. the Yellow Turbans are said to have proclaimed that Azure Heaven 蒼天 was dead and that Yellow Heaven 黃 was about to come to the fore. V. *Hou Han shu* 101.1a<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>114</sup> 恭宗 T'o-pa Huang 晃 (the table of contents to the *Wei shu* writes Chao 晃, which is an error), son of Shih-tsu (v. note 44). Dates 428-451. He is listed as an emperor because he was considered regent while his father was absent on military campaigns. *Wei shu* 4B.6b<sup>11-7b</sup>; *Pei shih* 2.9a.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. *Fo tsu t'ung chi* 38, *Taishō* 49.354A: "The emperor . . . had built



could not be heard the sounds of the cock's crow and the dog's bark, for he wanted to mount it to hold intercourse with the divinities of heaven—the laborers would be reckoned by the myriad and it would not be completed for years—he said to Shih-tsu, "The paths of man and heaven are different; low and high must of necessity be separated. Today, Ch'ien-chih's desires demand an unlimited time and speak of a thing which does not exist. The money and exertion would be wasted and the people would suffer. Is it not impossible? Most certainly, according to his words, the task could be most easily done on the top of the Eastern mountain." Shih-tsu highly approved Kung-tsung's words, but, since Ts'ui Hao approved the doing [of the work] and it was hard to oppose his opinion, after a long sigh he said, "I too know that it is impossible; but since things are as they are why regret five or three hundred days of labor?"

In the ninth year (448) Ch'ien-chih died and was buried with the rites of a Taoist practitioner. Before his death he said to his disciples, "While I am still with you, you can ask for the charm-booklets of the genii, but when I have gone, the Truth of the Heavenly Palaces <sup>115a</sup> will be hard to attain." Again, on the day of the assembly, he spread two extra mats before the seat of the Chief Master, and his disciples asked him why. Ch'ien-chih replied, "Genie-officers are coming." On the eve of his death he suddenly said, "My breathing is not regular, and I have a severe pain in my stomach," but he acted as usual. The following morning he <sup>13a</sup> died. At that moment the breath in his mouth in the form of a cloud of smoke rose up out of the window, and, when half way to heaven, melted away. His corpse stretched and, when the disciples measured it, [they found it to be] eight feet, three inches. After three days it gradually shrunk up, and when put in the coffin it measured six inches.<sup>116</sup> Then the disciples considered him to be a post-mortem genie and to have been transformed and gone to immortality.

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a *Hsüan-tu* 玄都 altar and erected a Ching-lun-t'ien-kung 靜輪天宮. It was ordered that [K'ou] Ch'ien-chih and his pupils should rank above the princes and dukes, and not use the term *ch'ên* 臣. 120 young men were chosen from the better families to become Taoist Practitioners."

<sup>115a</sup> Possibly, we should read 官 and translate "the officials of heaven."

<sup>116</sup> *CFYK* reads "6 feet, 6 inches." I can get no further information to

At that time a man of Ching-chao, Wei Wên-hsiu,<sup>117</sup> who lived in retreat on Mount Sung, was summoned to the capital. Shih-tsu once asked those skilled in recipes about matters referring to gold and elixir. Many replied, "It can be done." Wên-hsiu replied, "The Way of divinities is obscure, and transformations are hard to understand. One may happen upon them by chance; but it is hard to do so at a predetermined time. Your servant has received instruction from the former master and has heard about these things, but he has not yet done them." Shih-tsu, believing Wên-hsiu to be of a powerful family from west of the pass<sup>118</sup> whose habits were gentle and refined and whose replies were sincere, sent him with the *shang-shu* Ts'ui I<sup>119</sup> to Mount Wang-wu<sup>120</sup> to mix an elixir; but they did not succeed at all.

Those skilled in recipes who arrived at this time were several. Ch'î Hsien of Ho-tung<sup>121</sup> was given to physiognomy. Shih-tsu esteemed him and appointed Hsien a *shang-ta-fu*,<sup>122</sup> [and?] Rector<sup>123</sup> of P'in-yang.<sup>124</sup>

Wu Shao of Wên-hsi<sup>124a</sup> practised callisthenics and nourished the vital breath for many years. At the age of a hundred odd his potential vital breath had not declined.

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indicate which of these readings is preferable. This detail is omitted in *KHMC*. V. note 4.

<sup>117</sup> 京兆, 韋文秀 Cf. note 56. This man's name appears in *Wei shu* 32.4b<sup>12</sup> and *Pei shih* 24.1b<sup>5</sup>. He is possibly a member of the family mentioned in *Wei shu* 45.

<sup>118</sup> I. e., Shensi.

<sup>119</sup> 崔頤 Died in 440 or shortly after. *Wei shu* 32.4b<sup>9</sup> and *Pei shih* 24.1b<sup>13</sup>. He was at one time a *san-ch'î-shang-shu* 散騎尚書, assistant secretary in the imperial secretariat.

<sup>120</sup> 王屋 SW of Yang-ch'êng 陽城 on S central border of Shansi.

<sup>121</sup> 河東, 祁纖. Ho-tung was SE of Yung-chi 永濟 in extreme SW Shansi. Ch'î Hsien is unknown elsewhere.

<sup>122</sup> Probably signifies "gentleman of the superior class."

<sup>123</sup> All the texts (except *Chi-ku-ko* ed. which reads 終) read 絳略, but I am not certain how it should be translated. The *Chi-ku-ko*'s reading must be a wrong character.

<sup>124</sup> Read p'in 頻 with *KHMC* and *CFYK* for ying 穎 of histories. P'in-yang was 50 li NE of the modern Fu-p'ing hsien 富平, which is in Shensi, about 105 li NNE of Sianfu.

<sup>124a</sup> 聞喜, 吳劭 Unknown elsewhere. Wên-hsi was within the jurisdiction of the present town of the same name in SW Shansi.

Yen P'ing-hsien <sup>125</sup> of Hêng-nung <sup>126</sup> read the teachings of all the schools but had been unable to understand their thought and language. [But] he was able to understand the replies and signification of divination. Shih-tsu wanted to give him an official post; but finally he declined and did not accept.

Lu Ch'í <sup>127</sup> of Fu-fêng, <sup>128</sup> because of the devastations caused by Ho-lien Ch'ü-chieh, <sup>129</sup> fled to Han-shan <sup>129a</sup> to teach his several hundred disciples. He was given to recipes for diminishing the desires.

Lo Ch'ung-chih <sup>130</sup> of Ho-tung always tasted the resin from pine trees and did not eat cereals. **13b**<sup>1</sup> He claimed to have received the *tao* on Mount Chung-t'iao.<sup>131</sup> Shih-tsu ordered Ch'ung to return home, and erected an altar where he might pray. Ch'ung said that in Mount [Chung-]t'iao there was a cavern which communicated with [mounts] K'un-lun and P'êng-lai.<sup>132</sup> On entering the cave one would see genii and have relations with them. Imperial order was given the prefecture of Ho-tung to provide what was necessary. Ch'ung entered the cave for a hundred odd

<sup>125</sup> 閻平仙 Unknown elsewhere.

<sup>126</sup> 恒農 There were five such places under the N. Wei:

1. Prefecture in jurisdiction of Chi 汲 in central Honan, N. of the Yellow river.
2. Prefecture in jurisdiction of Shan 陝 in NW Honan.
3. Subprefecture in Ying-chou fu 潁 in NW Anhui.
4. Subprefecture in Nan-yang fu 南陽 in SW Honan.
5. Subprefecture 40 li S of Ling-pao hsien 靈寶 in extreme W. Honan, along the Yellow river.

<sup>127</sup> 魯祈 Unknown elsewhere.

<sup>128</sup> 扶風 A prefecture 10 li NE of Ch'ien-chou 乾, which is 120 li WNW of Sianfu in Shensi.

<sup>129</sup> 赫連屈子, also known as Ho-lien Po-po 勃勃. Founder of the Hsia dynasty (one of the Sixteen Kingdoms). V. note 106. He died in 425. V. *Chin shu* 130 and *Wei shu* 95.7a<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>129a</sup> 寒山 The *Tz'ü-yüan* locates such a place SE of T'ung shan 銅山 in NW Kiangsu.

<sup>130</sup> 羅崇之 Ch'ung-chih is probably his *tzü*, for a few lines further down the 之 is omitted; cf. below Wang Tao-i and Wang I.

<sup>131</sup> 中條 SE of P'u ch'ou 蒲 in SW Shansi.

<sup>132</sup> 崑崙, 蓬萊 Fabulous mountains, the wandering place of the genii. [The latter was supposed to be an island in the eastern sea. Ch'in Shih Huang sent an expedition to discover it. EDITOR.]

paces and then reached the end. Afterwards he was summoned to court. The officials took him for an imposter and not one who followed the *tao*, and memorialized for his punishment. Shih-tsu said, "Ch'ung is one who practises the *tao*. Has it been his desire to deceive the world, or has he transmitted something that he heard without examining into [its truth], and thus reached this pass? The princes of old advanced men according to the formalities and demoted them according to the formalities; but this would be a violation of my intention to welcome the good." Then he pardoned him.

Furthermore, there was the man of Tung-lai,<sup>133</sup> Wang Tao-i.<sup>134</sup> From youth his interests were turned from worldly things and he lived in a retreat on Mount Han-hsin<sup>135</sup> for forty odd years. He gave up rice and ate millet. He had a thoro understanding of the writings and charms in the books, and lived continually in a retreat in the depths of the mountain without associating with worldly matters. When he was sixty odd years of age, Hsien-tsu<sup>136</sup> heard of him, and ordered<sup>136a</sup> the governor of Ch'ing-chou,<sup>137</sup> Han T'ui,<sup>138</sup> to send a messenger to go to the mountain to invite him. [Wang] I then came to the capital. That he might continue his customary life, Hsien-tsu ordered the Sangha to provide him with clothing and food for the rest of his days.

In the autumn of the fifteenth year of the period T'ai-ho (491) it was decreed: "The Supreme Tao is without form; void and silence are its chief [characteristics]. Since the Han there has been the erection of altars and shrines. Our predecessor, 13b<sup>7</sup> because of their perfect obedience and because they serve as a refuge [from worldly concerns], erected a building for their use. Formerly, in the capital buildings were still few; now the quarters [of the city] are like [the teeth of] a comb. For men and divinities

<sup>133</sup> 東萊 Prefecture with its center at Lai-chou 萊 in N central part of the Peninsula of Shantung, near the coast.

<sup>134</sup> 王道翼 Unknown elsewhere.

<sup>135</sup> 韓信 Not found elsewhere.

<sup>136</sup> 顯祖, T'o-pa Hung 弘. 454-476; Giles 1947; *Wei shu* 6; *Pei shih* 2.12b<sup>6</sup>-14a<sup>5</sup>. He ruled 465-471.

<sup>136a</sup> Both *KHMC* and *CFYK* omit the 焉 which follows the 召 in the histories.

<sup>137</sup> 青 corresponds to central Shantung.

<sup>138</sup> 韓頤 Unknown elsewhere.

to be mixed pell-mell is not a way to respect and honor the supreme doctrine, and purify and reverence the way of the divinities. [The building] is to be removed south of the capital,<sup>139</sup> on the southern slope of Mount Yo,<sup>140</sup> north of Sang-kan,<sup>141</sup> to establish forever its abode. There are provided fifty families to supply the needs of fasts and sacrifices. As heretofore, it is to be called the Ch'ung-hsü ssü.<sup>142</sup> There may be summoned [to it] hermits from all the provinces to the number of ninety."

On moving to Lo[-yang] and changing to Yeh<sup>143</sup> they conformed to the former conditions. The Taoist altar was in the south suburb, and was two hundred paces square. On the seventh day of the first month, the seventh day of the seventh month, and the fifth<sup>144</sup> day of the tenth<sup>145</sup> the chief of the altar, the Taoist practitioners, and the elders paid the ceremonial visit to the shrine.

The Taoist practitioners seldom reach a high degree of excellence, and, moreover, they do not possess capacities that one can respect. In the sixth year of the period Wu-ting (548) an official memorialized for their dispersion.<sup>145\*</sup> As for those who followed the *tao* and the spells, such as Chang Yüan-yu<sup>146</sup> of Ho-tung and Chao Ching-t'ung<sup>147</sup> of Ho-chien,<sup>148</sup> Prince Wên-hsiang of Ch'ü<sup>149</sup>

<sup>139</sup> V. note 39.

<sup>140</sup> 岳

<sup>141</sup> 桑乾 the river S of Ta-t'ung fu.

<sup>142</sup> 崇虛寺

<sup>143</sup> 鄴 40 li SW of Lin-chang hsien 臨漳 in Chang-tê fu 彰德 in N Honan.

<sup>144</sup> Both *KHMC* and *CFYK* read 五 for 十五 of histories.

<sup>145</sup> As here emended, these same dates reappear in the *Lu-hsien-shêng tao-mên k'o-lueh* p. 2a. *Tao-tsang* 761; Wieger 1113. Cf. also *Sui shu* 13a<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>145\*</sup> The *T'ung-chien kang-mu* mentions this under the seventh month of this year, but I do not find it in either the *Wei shu*, the *Pei shih*, or the *Pei Ch'ü shu*.

<sup>146</sup> 張遠遊 fl. 554-559. V. *Pei Ch'ü shu* 49.1b<sup>5</sup>

<sup>147</sup> 趙靜通 Unknown elsewhere.

<sup>148</sup> 河間 Prefecture 35 li SW of Ho-chien in Central Hopei (Chihli).

<sup>149</sup> 齊文襄 521-549. This is Kao Ch'êng 高澄, elder brother of Kao Yang 洋 who was the first ruler of the N. Ch'ü. This individual's posthumous title was Wên-hsiang huang-ti. I do not know why Wei Shou here uses *wang*. It might be a correction by a later hand which considered this dynasty illegitimate. V. *Pei Ch'ü shu* 3 and *Pei shih* 6.10a<sup>12</sup>.

erected a home [for them] in the capital and was on [friendly] terms with them.

#### TRANSLATION OF *Sui shu*

The Taoist books. [They] say that there is Yüan-shih-t'ien-tsun<sup>150</sup> born before the T'ai-yüan.<sup>151</sup> [He is] endowed with spontaneous vital breath; he is so vast and [extends] so far that we do not know his limits. In that they speak of the destruction of heaven and earth and of the termination of Kalpa-divisions, they agree on the whole 12a<sup>2</sup> with the Buddhist books. They consider that [Yüan-shih-]t'ien-tsun's substance is eternal and undestroyed. Whenever we reach the beginning of heaven and earth, whether residing in the Jade Capital or in the fields of the Hollow Mulberry,<sup>152</sup> he teaches a secret Way, and speaks of this as Opening the Kalpa 12a<sup>3</sup> and Saving Men. A Kalpa that has been begun, however, consists of more than one part. Therefore, there are the *nien-hao* Yen-k'ang, Ch'ih-ming, Lung-han, and K'ai-huang. These pass away one after the other until there has passed a period of 41 billions of years [which make one Kalpa].

As for the Celestial 12a<sup>4</sup> Genii, there belong to the first class: T'ai-shang-lao-chün, T'ai-shang-chang-jên, and T'ien-chên-huang-jên.<sup>153</sup> The [five] celestial emperors of the five quarters and the

<sup>150</sup> 元始天尊 V. note 7; Wieger's *Taoisme* I. 18, and *Croyances*, p. 518.

<sup>151</sup> 太元 The Taoist description of the origin of the universe has varied much in the course of time. The *Tao-tê-ching* says that Being arose from Non-being. The latter is the *tao*, which is the One or Chaos. The latter became two; two became three; and three became the whole universe. V. Wieger, *Textes Philosophiques*<sup>2</sup>, p. 262-264.

Lieh-tzü distinguishes the successive states of creation as follows: 太易 (Chaos) > 太初 (breath appears) > 太始 (form appears) > 太素 (matter appears). V. Wieger, op. cit., p. 272.

Wieger, p. 342, quotes a *pên-ch'i-ching* 本起經 to the effect that first we have the 太初, which is the *tao*; then the 太元, which is the beginning of spirit 神; then the 太始 which is the beginning of breath.

<sup>152</sup> 窮桑 This term evokes a vast background of Chinese myth and folklore which has been discussed by M. Granet, *Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne*, pp. 428-465. The Hollow Mulberry is the birth-place and residence of fondateurs.

<sup>153</sup> 太上老君; 太上丈人; 天真皇人.

Genie officers make reports and receive orders, but men have no share [in their activity].

As for what are called their sacred writings, they too are endowed with 12a<sup>5</sup> the primal vital breath. They come into being spontaneously and are not made. Just like T'ien-tsun they exist forever and are not destroyed. If heaven and earth were not destroyed they would heap up and not be transmitted. As a Kalpa develops [thru its four periods], its texts reveal themselves. (On the whole the 8 characters 12a<sup>6</sup> exhaust the secrets of the Tao-substance.)<sup>154</sup> They are called Celestial Writings. The characters are one *chang*<sup>154a</sup> square, and give forth beams in every direction shining and brilliant, so that the mind is rendered respectful and the eyes are dazzled. Tho the Celestial Genii are unable to gaze upon them, when the [Yüan-shih-]t'ien-tsun opens up the Kalpa, 12a<sup>7</sup> he orders the *t'ien-chên-huang-jên* to change the air [used for the writings] in heaven and divide them up [among the different airs of the world]. From the *t'ien-chên* on down to the genii the various classes hand them (the writings) on to one another according to rank. After finally reaching the Genii they are handed on to the men of this world. Since, however, 12a<sup>8</sup> the [Yüan-shih-]t'ien-tsun takes years completely to open a Kalpa, those who receive the doctrine keep it secret for a period, and then hand it on. [If it is a book] of the first class, [it is handed on] after a long time; [if it is a book] of a lower order, [it is handed on] in a short time. Therefore, those who to-day receive the Way 12a<sup>9</sup> may first teach others after 49 years.

On examining the general content [of their books], it is found that they also treat of fellow-feeling and love, and of purity and quiet. By increasing in the practice [of such teachings] one gradually succeeds in prolonging one's life, in being spontaneously transformed into a divinity, or in mounting up in broad daylight to geniehood and 12a<sup>10</sup> combining one's substance with the *tao*.

<sup>154</sup> This seems to be a note of some kind.

The 8 characters probably signify the 8 trigrams, for in the *Tao fa hui yüan* (v. note 19) 98.14a, under the caption 祈禱八字徽法 the 8 trigrams are listed.

I do not believe that our expression can here have the ordinary meaning of the 8 cyclical characters of the hour, day, month, and year of a person's birth. It would seem better to accept the first interpretation, for those 8 are used to form the 64 hexagrams, which are manipulated to reveal the future.

<sup>154a</sup> A *chang* = 10 Chinese feet.

The method for receiving the Way. First one receives the 5000-character booklet;<sup>155</sup> then, the *san-tung* booklets; then, the *tung-hsüan* booklets; then, the *shang-ch'ing* booklets.<sup>156</sup> The booklets are all in ordinary writing. Those that record the names of the officials of heaven and their assistants 12a<sup>11</sup> are numerous. Moreover, there are amulets mingled in [these texts]. Their content is strange and not understood by the world. Those who receive [the texts and amulets] must first purify themselves by a fast; then, being provided with one gold ring and gifts of silk, they use them to gain an interview 12a<sup>12</sup> from a teacher. Having taken the presents, the teacher hands him the booklet. It is the custom to cut the gold ring in half, and for each to take a half, saying that they consider it a pledge. When the pupil gets the booklet, he ties it up and carries it from his belt.

The way to purify oneself by a fast. There are fasts [for receiving] Yellow, Jade, 12a<sup>13</sup> or Gold Booklets, and [for dispelling] annoyances. An altar of three tiers is made, and in each tier there are placed fasces of coarse grass to serve as boundaries. In each side there is set up a doorway. Everything is done on a particular plan. The fasters are also limited in number. Entering into 12b<sup>1</sup> the midst of the fasces one behind the other, and with hands tied behind their backs, they confess their faults and pray to the divinities and spirits day and night without respite for once or twice seven days, and then stop. Besides the fasters there are also men who are outside the fasces, 12b<sup>2</sup> who are called Fast Guests. These merely bow and do not have their hands tied behind their backs.

There are also methods for banishing misfortunes and surmounting difficulties. By the *yin-yang-wu-hsing*<sup>157</sup> method the

<sup>155</sup> *Tao-tê-ching*.

<sup>156</sup> 三洞:洞玄;上清 The present *Tao-tsang* is divided into three parts which are collectively known as the *san tung*, but here the term seems to indicate one class. *Tung-hsüan* is the name of the second of the three parts in the present *Tao-tsang*. *Shang-ch'ing* makes one think of the Three Pures who are at the head of the universe in modern Taoism. Cf. *Sui shu* 13a<sup>7-8</sup>.

<sup>157</sup> 陰陽五行 It will be remembered that some of the histories have an essay entitled *Wu-hsing* in which are recorded the strange phenomena, both terrestrial and celestial, occurring under a particular dynasty. Such phenomena were, of course, interpreted as portending important events.



individual's allotment of years is investigated and written up in the form of a petition. 12b<sup>3</sup> Then with offerings of silk and burning incense they read it, saying, "Petition is made to the hosts of heaven; may they banish the difficulty for me." This is known as presenting a petition.

At night, under the stars and zodiacal signs, offering gifts of wine, dried meat, cakes, and cookies, they sacrifice them one after the other 12b<sup>4</sup> to the *t'ien-huang-t'ai-i*<sup>158</sup> and to the five planets and the [twenty-eight] mansions. They prepare a written document like the "presenting of a petition" to address them [those to whom they are sacrificing]. This is known as performing a *chiaio*.<sup>159</sup>

They make seals of wood on which they carve the stars, the signs of the zodiac, the sun, and the moon. Breathing deeply as they grasp it, 12b<sup>5</sup> they make an imprint on the sick person. Many are [thus] cured.

They can mount upon sword-blades and burn [themselves] by entering fire; but, being masters of this [art] they cause the blades to be unable to cut them and the fire to be unable to burn them.

There are recipes for regulation of diet, avoidance of cereals, gold and elixir, jade jelly, mica, 12b<sup>6</sup> and the dispelling of evil, but we cannot give a complete account of them.

They say that since high antiquity persons such as Huang-ti, Ti K'ü, and Yü of the Hsia [dynasty], all met divinities and received Taoist documents. Since, however, those times are so distant, the classics and the histories do not tell of them. 12b<sup>7</sup> On examining the traces that remain, we find that among the philosophers of Han times there were thirty-seven Taoist writers.<sup>160</sup> On the whole they all avoided passionate desires and gave themselves to detachment, and that is all. There were no such things as charm-booklets from the officials of high heaven. The four

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It was such interpretation that engaged the attention of the *School of Yin and Yang*. Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* I, xv-xvi; H. Maspero, *La Chine Antique*, 613-614. It seems to me, therefore, that *Yin-yang-wu-hsing* is a more complete name for the *School of Yin and Yang*. Cf. text to note 163.

<sup>158</sup> 天皇太一

<sup>159</sup> 醮 Cf. Doré, *Manuel des Superstitions Chinoises* (Shanghai 1926), p. 113, near bottom.

<sup>160</sup> *Han shu* 30.12a<sup>3</sup>-13b<sup>1</sup> does list 37 items.

chapters of Huang-ti 12b<sup>8</sup> and the two chapters of Lao-tzŭ however, abound in profound sentiments and old expressions.

T'ao Hung-ching.<sup>161</sup> He lived in a retreat at Chŭ-jung.<sup>162</sup> He had a fondness for *yin-yang-wu-hsing* and *fêng-chiao-hsing-hsüan*.<sup>163</sup> He practised the recipes for avoidance-of-cereals and callisthenics. He received Taoist booklets. 12b<sup>9</sup> The emperor Wu<sup>164</sup> [of the Liang] used to walk with him and when he ascended the throne, Hung-ching took [excerpts from] divinatory texts and composed a *ching-liang-tzŭ*<sup>165</sup> and presented it. Consequently, he fell into great favor. In addition he made a selection of the secret recipes of those who have attained geniehood to prove that 12b<sup>10</sup> of old there were divinities and genii. He also said that the elixir of divinity could be produced, and that those who took it could prolong their lives to the duration of heaven and earth. The emperor ordered Hung-ching to try to make genie-elixir, but he was utterly unable to do so. He then said that it was because the central plain was cut off 12b<sup>11</sup> from [the proper spiritual influences] and the medicines were inefficacious. The emperor considered his explanation correct and honored him still the more. In his youth the emperor Wu had liked these things and had formerly accepted Taoism. After mounting the throne, he still "presented petitions" personally. Those at the court who accepted Taoism were numerous, and in the San- 12b<sup>12</sup> wu<sup>166</sup> and along the sea those who believed in it were still more numerous.

<sup>161</sup> 陶弘景 452-536 (the 81 years in Wieger's *Taoisme* I. 17 is an error for 84). Correct Giles 1896. V. *Liang shu* 51.5b<sup>3</sup>; *Nan shih* 76.4b<sup>1</sup>-6a<sup>6</sup>. His legend is in Wieger 297, *Tao-tsang* 151.

<sup>162</sup> 句容 65 li ESE of Nanking.

<sup>163</sup> 風雨星算 Cf. also note 157. The commentary to *Hou Han shu* 60B.1a<sup>6</sup> defines these terms as follows: *Fêng-chiao* means to observe the wind of the four directions and of the four intermediary points in order to divine fortune or misfortune. *Hsing-hsuan* means [omit the *shan* which is probably reproduced under the influence of the main text] astronomical calculation.

<sup>164</sup> 梁武帝 464-549. Giles 720; *Liang shu* 1-3 and *Nan shih* 6-7. This is the famous emperor who became a Buddhist monk.

<sup>165</sup> 景梁字 The histories omit the word *ching*. This must have been a sort of prophecy foretelling good fortune for the new dynasty.

<sup>166</sup> 三吳 Southern Kiangsu and Anhui with Chekiang.

Before coming to the throne [the emperor] Wu of the Ch'ên <sup>167</sup> [dynasty] lived at Wu-hsing.<sup>168</sup> Therefore, he also accepted [Taoism].

Under the Later Wei (399-534) the Taoist practitioner K'ou Ch'ien-chih said of himself that he once met the genie Ch'êng-kung Hsing. <sup>12b</sup><sup>13</sup> Later he met T'ai-shang-lao-chün who conferred upon him the Celestial Mastership, and gave him twenty chapters of rules to be recited on an air of Yün-chung. Moreover, he had the Jade Maid give him methods for regulating the vital breath and callisthenics. Then he obtained [the capacity] to avoid <sup>13a</sup><sup>1</sup> cereals, an increase of vital breath, levitation of body, and freshness and elegance of complexion. His pupils, ten odd individuals, all obtained his recipes. Again, he met Li P'u who said that he was a great-grandson of Lao-chün. [Li P'u] gave him his *t'u-lu-chên-ching* for ordering about <sup>13a</sup><sup>2</sup> all the divinities in sixty odd chapters as well as methods for preparing gold and elixir, mica, the eight stones, and jade jelly. At the beginning of the period *Shih-kuang* (424-428) of the [emperor] T'ai-wu <sup>169</sup> he received his book and presented it to the emperor. The emperor sent messengers to present jade, silk, and animals <sup>13a</sup><sup>3</sup> in sacrifice to the sacred mountain Sung, and invite the rest of his pupils. Southeast of the capital in Tai he erected a temple for the 120 odd Taoist practitioners to preach their law and proclaim it to the world. [The emperor] T'ai-wu personally prepared a chariot according to the [Taoist] regulations [to go and] <sup>13a</sup><sup>4</sup> receive a charm-booklet. After that the Taoist acts were practised widely, and every emperor, when he came to the throne, had to receive a charm-booklet, considering it an old practice. Presents were made [to the temple] in the form of statues of [Yüan-shih-]t'ien-tsun and the genii. After moving to Lo[-yang] they placed the Taoist <sup>13a</sup><sup>5</sup> altar on the edge of the south suburb. It was two hundred paces square. On the fifteenth day of both the first and tenth

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<sup>167</sup> 陳武 Named Ch'ên Pa 陳霸 503-559. *Ch'ên shu* 1-2; *Nan shih* 9.1a-8b.

<sup>168</sup> 吳興 The Manchu dynasty's Hu-chou 湖 near extreme N central border of Chekiang.

<sup>169</sup> V. note 44. 太武 is the posthumous title. Shih-tsu is his temple-name.

months the elders among the Taoist practitioners bowed and prayed [there].

After the emperor Wu<sup>170</sup> of the Later Ch'i (550-577) had moved<sup>171</sup> to Yeh, [the Taoists] were disbanded.<sup>171a</sup> 13a<sup>6</sup> In the time of Wên-hsiang they again built a temple, and selecting the very best [of the Taoists] had them live [in it].

The Later Chou (557-581) succeeded to the [Western] Wei (535-556) and received Taoism kindly, each emperor receiving a booklet as the Wei had formerly done. Then along with Buddhism they persecuted it.<sup>171b</sup>

Early in the period K'ai-huang (581-601) 13a<sup>7</sup> [Taoism] again prospered. Kao-tsu<sup>172</sup> believed in Buddhism, [whose adherents] are a mite like the Taoist practitioners. The Taoist practitioners who during the period Ta-yeh (605-618) presented recipes were very numerous.

In explaining the sacred texts they begin with Lao-tzŭ. Then they explain Chuang 13a<sup>8</sup> -tzŭ, and the *ling-pao* and *shêng-hsüan*<sup>173</sup> categories. As for the bulk of their writings, it is a fixed tradition that they were compiled by divinities. Some of them claim [to be composed by Yüan-shih]-t'ien-tsun who has the family name of Lo and the personal name of Ching-hsin.<sup>174</sup> Their principles are shallow and vulgar, therefore the crowd marvels greatly at them. 13a<sup>9</sup>

As for magicians, they practise spells which generally have evidences of the spiritual,<sup>175</sup> but the price which successive dynasties

<sup>170</sup> 武 This is Kao Huan 高歡, ancestor of the rulers of the N. Ch'i. He himself never ruled. 496-547. *Pei Ch'i shu* 1-2; *Pei shih* 6.1a-10a.

<sup>171</sup> This refers to the break-up of the N. Wei into Eastern and Western halves in 534. The Eastern, which was to become the N. or Later Ch'i had its capital at Yeh. The Western had its capital at Ch'ang-an.

<sup>171a</sup> This looks like an inexact reference to the event mentioned in the *Wei shu*. V. note 145a.

*KHMC* 4 *Taishō* 52.113A attributes a dispersion of Taoists to 555 A. D.

<sup>171b</sup> In 574. V. *Chou shu* 5.8b<sup>9</sup>; *Pei shih* 10.5b<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>172</sup> 高祖 This is Yang Chien 楊堅 541-604. Correct Giles 2367. His boyhood name was Nārāyaṇa 那羅延. *Sui shu* 1-2; *Pei shih* 11.

<sup>173</sup> V. notes 18 and 19.

<sup>174</sup> 樂靜信

<sup>175</sup> 其術業優者行諸符禁往往神驗。I have found *fu-chin* only in the supplement to the *P'ei xên yün fu*, where this is the passage quoted.

have paid for gold and elixir, jade-juice, and the prolonging of life is incalculable and utterly without results.

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After the above was written, there came to hand an incomplete file of the *Tōyōgakuhō* 東洋學報. Attention should, therefore, be called to three articles on Taoism which have been published therein. The most important of the three is "Studies in Taoism" 道教之研究 by Tsumaki Naoyoshi 妻木直良 in vol. 1 (1911). I. 1-56, II. 20-51, and vol. 2 (1912). 58-75. The late M. L. Aurousseau called attention to this work in *BEFEO* 12. IX. 108. The other two articles are by Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定: "An Outline of Taoism" 道教概説, vol. 10 (1920), 305-348; "A General Sketch of the Development of Taoism" 道教發達史概説 vol. 11 (1921). 243-267. A translation of Tsumaki's article, taking cognizance of the materials in the *BEFEO*, would render a great service to western sinology.

AN ARMENIAN-GREEK INDEX TO PHILO'S  
*QUAESTIONES* AND *DE VITA*  
*CONTEMPLATIVA* \*

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IN VOL. XLIX of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1930, p. 61ff.) the writer published a brief paper on the nature of the Armenian translation of Philo's *Quaestiones in Genesim et Exodum* on the basis of the text published by Aucher at Venice in 1826. As is well known, the Greek original of this Philonic work has been almost entirely lost except for a small number of fragments in patristic writings and catenae, which have been collected and published by Rendel Harris in his *Fragments of Philo Judaeus* (Cambridge, 1886). From a comparison of the Armenian text with the Greek fragments, the writer was led to the conclusion previously reached by Conybeare (*Philo about the Contemplative Life*, Oxford, 1895, p. 155) that the Armenian is "marvellously faithful, reproducing the Greek original word for word and as a rule without any change in the order. Hence its great value as a means of determining the Greek text". Shortly after, an additional study was made of the Armenian version of the *De Vita Contemplativa*, edited by Conybeare (op. cit.), and the Armenian-Greek index, compiled for the *Quaestiones*, was expanded to include this work, which is now generally agreed to be genuinely Philonic, and the language of which is indisputably Philonic. The *Quaestiones* and the *D. V. C.* were evidently translated into Armenian by the same person, and it is therefore possible to make use of the vocabulary of the latter in any attempted reconstruction of the Greek original of the former. The following index is presented to scholars with a view to aiding such a reconstruction, which if not completely possible, may at least be undertaken to the extent of improving upon Aucher's Latin version. However, the actual work of systematic reconstruction of the Greek *Quaestiones* must be deferred until the publication of a definitive critical edition of the Armenian, such as may be expected in the not far distant future from Dr. Hans

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\* Completed on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of Professor Richard Gottheil, October 13, 1932.

Lewy of Berlin, who has been commissioned by the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften to collect manuscripts in European and Eastern libraries and to prepare a revised edition.

Meanwhile, the index is offered in the hope that it may be of use in critical revision, and in the belief that it possesses independent value for reconstructive purposes, inasmuch as it is based only on passages where the Armenian and Greek texts are unmistakably in agreement.

A few words may be said in explanation of the index. It is not meant to be exhaustive, and a good many items of Realien, for example, have been omitted; but it does include all instances where terms of religious, scientific, philosophical, or general significance are used, and in addition such purely formal words as particles and relation-terms, which may throw light on the method of the Armenian translator in rendering Greek idioms and reproducing transitions or emphasis and the like. Attention may also be called to three classes of renderings: (1) those which show an almost complete one-to-one correspondence, e. g. *բան* = *λόγος*; *առաքինութիւն* = *ἀρετή*; *արդարութիւն* = *δικαιοσύνη*; *հանձար* = *ἐπιστήμη*. (2) Armenian compounds which faithfully reproduce Greek compounds, e. g. *այլաբանեմ*, *-ութիւն* = *ἀλληγορῶ*, *-ία*; *արէնարութիւն* = *νομοθεσία*. (3) Armenian words of general meaning translating Greek synonyms or words further qualified by adverbial or prefixed elements, e. g. *ընդունիմ* = *δέχομαι*, *προσδέχομαι*, *εἰσδέχομαι* κτλ.; *սեփանեմ* = *ὄρω*, *καθορῶ*, *θεωρῶ*, *θεῶμαι*, *καταθεῶμαι*, or translating Greek words of similar but by no means identical meaning, e. g. *միտք* = *νοῦς*, *νόημα*, *ἐννοια* κτλ.; *հոգի* = *ψυχή*, *πνεῦμα*; *ախտ* = *πάθος*, *νόσος*.

#### EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS

- E* = *Quaestiones in Erodum* }  
*G* = " " *Genesis* } cited by Aucher's section numbers.  
*VC* = *De Vita Contemplativa*, " " Cohn-Reiter's section numbers.  
 (†) = addition of synonym or auxiliary word in Armenian.  
 \* = difference of construction between corresponding Greek and Armenian words.  
 — (before or after Greek word) = composition of verb and preposition etc.

*աղահ*: *πλεονέκτης G* iv 172(†).

*աղահութիւն*: *πλεονεξία G* iv 47, 172(†), 211(†), *VC* 70(†).

**ωκυται**: ἐλεύθερος(-ιος) *VC* 69, 70, 71, 72. **εὐγενής** *VC* 69, 72.  
—**κυβήτης**: ἐλευθερία *VC* 19.

**ωρε**: γένος *G* ii 54, iv 179, *E* ii 2, 19, 46 (*bis*), *VC* 11, 2(†), 18, 35, 37, 62. εἶδος *VC* 54. γενεά *E* ii 49. ἔθνος *E* ii 6. συγγενεῖς *VC* 13 (*bis*). —**ωληργ**: συγγενής *G* i 65, ii 34, *E* ii 64, 68, *VC* 7, 41. —**ωληργική**: συγγένεια *E* ii 68, *VC* 9, 18. —**ωλη**: συγγενής *VC* 14.

**ωρη**: δηλῶ *G* ii 59, *VC* 28, 75. παραδηλῶ *VC* 31.

**ωρη**-**ωλη**: προαίρεσις *VC* 2(†), 17. ἐπιτήδευμα *VC* 1. —**ω**: ἐπιτηδεύω *VC* 20\*.

**ωρη**: πάθος *G* ii 54, 59, *E* i 19, ii 2, 3, *VC* 2, 6. νόσος *G* i 65, *VC* 9, 60.

**ωρη**: ἄγω *G* iv 104, *E* ii 26, *VC* 61. w. prep. **ωρη**: ἐπάγω *G* iii 52, iv 51. παράγω *VC* 8(†). **ωρη** **ωρη**: διανοῶ *G* ii 54. ἐννοῶ *G* i 93. περιαιρῶ *VC* 15(†). σκοπῶ *E* ii 68. στοχάζομαι *G* iv 104.

**ωρη**: ἀκούσιος *G* iii 52 (*bis*), iv 64\*. ἀβούλητος *G* iv 204. μὴ ἐκ προαιρέσεως *E* ii 50.

**ωρη**. **ωρη** **ωρη** **ωρη**: πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν *G* ii 72. **ωρη** **ωρη** **ωρη**: μεγάλους ὄμμασι *G* iii 3. **ωρη** **ωρη**: προσδοκῶ *G* iv 43.

**ωρη** **ωρη**: προσδοκία *G* i 79.

**ωρη** **ωρη** **ωρη**: νεῦμα *VC* 31(†), 77. ἀναφορά *G* i 55.

**ωρη**: αἵρεσις *VC* 29.

**ωρη** **ωρη**: εὐχή(αί) *G* iv 198, *VC* 67, 89. **ωρη** **ωρη** **ωρη**: εὐχομαι *VC* 27, 66\*.

**ωρη** **ωρη**. —**ωρη**: δυσωπῶ *G* i 21, *E* ii 45.

**ωρη** **ωρη** **ωρη**: ἀσέβεια *E* ii 26\*, 45.

**ωρη** **ωρη**: σῶος *G* ii 15, *E* ii 37. **ωρη** **ωρη**: σώζω *G* ii 34; διατηροῦμαι *VC* 33.

**ωρη** **ωρη** **ωρη**: πάγκαλος *E* ii 66, *VC* 88 (*bis*). —**ωρη**: παγκάλως *G* ii 62.

**ωρη** **ωρη**: πᾶς, ἅπας c. 50 exx. ὅλος 4 exx. —**ωρη**: τὸ πᾶν, τὰ πάντα 6 exx. —**ωρη**: παντελῶς *G* i 77; πάντως *G* i 51.

—**ωρη**: πανταχόθεν *VC* 22. —**ωρη**: πανταχοῦ *VC* 48, 69.

—**ωρη**: πάντοθεν *G* ii 72.

**ωρη** **ωρη** **ωρη**: παντοῖος *E* ii 55, *VC* 49.

**ωρη** **ωρη** **ωρη**: πανίερος *VC* 36. παναγέστατος *VC* 81.

**ωρη** **ωρη**: τὸ παράπαν *G* i 65, iv 193, *E* ii 24, *VC* 51. παν- *E* ii 6.

**ωρη** **ωρη**: στείρωσις *E* ii 19, *VC* 62.

**ωρη** **ωρη** **ωρη**: στάσις *E* i 19.

**ωρη** **ωρη**: νῦν 3 exx.

**ωρη** (I): ἄλλος c. 20 exx. ἕτερος c. 15 exx.

**ωρη** (II): ἀλλά c. 50 exx.



- ωγλωρῶν*: ἀλληγορῶ *VC* 28, 29\*. — *νελθῆν*: ἀλληγορία *VC* 78.  
*ωγλωτῆρ*: ἑτερόμορφος *G* iii 3.  
*ωγλωτῆρ*: ἑτεροειδής *G* iii 3.  
*ωγλωτῆρ*: ἑτερόδοξος *E* ii 47.  
*ωγλωτῆρ*: ἀλλάττω *G* iv 51. ἐναλλάττω *G* iv 204. — *νελθῆν*:  
ἀπαλλαγὴ *G* iv 67.  
*ωγῆ*: ἐκείνος *c.* 6 *exx.* οὗτος *G, E* 3 *exx.* *ωγῆρ* *w. verb.* ὁ *w. ptc.*  
*etc.* *c.* 30 *exx.*  
*ωγῆρ*: τότε *G* ii 64.  
*ωγῆρ*: τοιοῦτος *G* ii 12, iv 47.  
*ωγ*: οὗτος *c.* 30 *exx.* — *ῆρ*: τουτέστι *G* ii 15, 72, *E* ii 16(†);  
*ωγῆ*: λέγω δὴ *G* ii 34. — *ζωγῆ*: τοσοῦτος *E* ii 45. — *ωγῆ*:  
οὕτως: *c.* 10 *exx.* — *ωγῆρ*: τοιοῦτος *c.* 10 *exx.*; τοιόσδε *G* ii 54.  
— *ωγῆ*: τοιοῦτος *VC* 64; τοσοῦτος *VC* 89.  
*ωγρ*: ἀνὴρ (*opp.* γυνή) *c.* 20 *exx.*  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀπαθής *G* ii 15.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀνώνυμος *G* i 20.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀκρατος *VC* 45, 85.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀλογος *G* i 94 (*bis*), *VC* 8, 9.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἄτιμος *G* iv 47, *VC* 7 (*superl.*). — *νελθῆν*: ἀτιμία *VC* 42.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀνεπίσχετος *E* ii 13. — *νελθῆν*: ἀκρασία *VC* 6.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀθεράπευτος *G* iv 51.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀνέκεστος *E* ii 6. ἀθεράπευτος *VC* 10.  
*ωγῆρ*: *ρωγῆρ* *w.*: πολλάκις 5 *exx.*  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀνεπιστήμων *G* iv 76. *ῆρ*: ἀγνοῶ *G* iv 206.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀγνοία *G* i 77, iv 64.  
*ωγῆρ*: εὐθύς *G* iv 64. *ωγῆρ*: εὐθύς *G* ii 34, iii 40, iv 64,  
*VC* 2; ἀντίκα *E* ii 40.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἐκείθεν *E* ii 67 (*bis*).  
*ωγῆρ*: ἐκεῖ *VC* 85. *ωγῆρ* *ωγῆρ*: ὧδε κ. ἐκεῖσε *E* ii 55.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἐπι- *G* i 85. παλιν- *E* ii 40. ἀντι- *VC* 84.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀδιάφορος *G* iv 64, 180\*.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἄφρων *G* ii 12, iv 33, 76. — *νελθῆν*: ἀφροσύνη *G* iv 204,  
*VC* 2.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀφροσύνη *VC* 74.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀπληστος *VC* 9, 74. — *νελθῆν*: ἀπληστία *VC* 55.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀδηλος *G* ii 54. ἀφανής *G* iv 99. — *νελθῆν*: ἀδηλότης  
*G* ii 54.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀνέλπιτος *E* ii 24.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀνόμιος *VC* 20.  
*ωγῆρ*: ἀστασίαστος *G* iii 8. ἀκίνητος *VC* 4.

- ἀνζουζ*: ἄψυχος VC 4.  
*ἀνζουζαζουζουζουζ*: ἐπωνυμία G i 20.  
*ἀνζουζουζ*: ὀνομάζω E ii 68, VC 66.  
*ἀνζουζ*: ὄνομα 14 exx. *ἀνζουζουζ*: προσονομίζομαι G i 20. *ἰνζουζουζ*  
*-ουζ*: πρόσρησις VC 2.  
*ἀνζουζουζουζ*: ἀναίτιος G i 100.  
*ἀνζουζουζ*: ἀμίαντος E ii 1.  
*ἀνζουζουζουζουζ*: ἀγονία VC 62.  
*ἀνζουζουζουζ*: διαζεύγνυμι G i 24, VC 63(†). *διαρτω* G iii 3.  
*ἀνζουζουζουζουζ*: ἀγονία E ii 19.  
*ἀνζουζουζ*: ἀψευδής G ii 34(†). *ἀψευστος* E ii 3.  
*ἀνζουζουζουζουζ*: ἀόρατος G ii 64, E ii 37, VC 78.  
*ἀνζουζουζ*: ἀπειρος G iv 76.  
*ἀνζουζουζουζουζουζ*: ἀμέλεια VC 61.  
*αζουζουζ*: γνώριμος G iv 104, VC 63.  
*αζουζουζ*: κόσμος G ii 34, 54, iv 51, E ii 46 (bis), 64, 65, 68 (quater), VC 5, 90. *βίος* G i 100, iv 204, VC 17(†). *γη* G iv 88. *χώρα* E ii 2. *οἰκουμένη* VC 21. —*αζουζουζ*: κοσμοποιός G ii 34. —*αζουζουζ*: πάνδημος VC 60(†), 62(†).  
*αζουζ*: ὄψις E ii 9, VC 31. *ᾶμμα* G ii 34. *ὀφθαλμός* VC 77.  
*αζουζ*: εἴτα 7 exx. *ἔπειτα* 4 exx. *ὥστε* 3 exx. (2 exx. + *ουζουζουζ*). *εζουζ*: εἰν E ii 68; *εἰ* VC 43.  
*αζουζουζουζουζ*: διαφθείρω G i 94 (ter), E ii 47(†), VC 9, 16, 86. *φθείρω* G ii 15, 54 (bis), E ii 49. *μαίνω* VC 66. *λυμαίνομαι* VC 61. *αζουζουζουζουζ* -*εζουζ*: πανωλεθρία E ii 6. —*ουζουζουζ*: φθορά E ii 3. *αζουζουζουζουζουζ* *αζουζ*: ἀφανίζομαι E ii 17.  
*αζουζουζουζουζουζ*: διασώζω G iv 69. *σώζω* G ii 34(†). *ρύομαι* E ii 2.  
*αζουζ*. w. acc.: πρὸς w. acc. 25 exx. misc. c. 15 exx.  
*αζουζουζ*: παραβολή G ii 54. *ποροιμία* *ibid.* instr.: συμβολικῶς E ii 17. —*εζουζ*: αἰνίττομαι G iv 228, E ii 14, 18, 65, VC 17.  
*αζουζουζουζ*: ἴδιος 4 exx. misc. 5 exx.  
*αζουζουζουζουζουζ*: ἐξάιρετος E ii 55.  
*αζουζουζ*: ἀ-, ἀν- 10 exx. *ἄνευ* 3 exx. *χωρίς* G 2 exx. *δίχα* VC 2 exx.  
*αζουζουζουζουζουζ*: πρόθεσις G iv 204.  
*αζουζουζουζουζουζ*: πρόθεσις G ii 15.  
*αζουζουζ*: πρῶτος c. 15 exx. misc. 5 exx. *ἡαζουζ* *αζουζ*. see *ἡαζουζ*.  
*αζουζουζουζουζ*: ἡγεμών G ii 34(†), E ii 6, VC 83 († Greek). *ὑφηγητής* G i 21. *ἀρχηγέτης* VC 29. —*εζουζ*: ἐξάρχω VC 87. —*ουζουζουζ*: ὑφήγησις G ii 54.  
*αζουζουζουζ*: μῦθος E i 6, VC 40, 63.  
*αζουζουζ*: ἀφθονος G iv 43, VC 16(†), 56. —*αζουζουζ*: ἀφθόνως VC 35. —*ουζουζουζ*: ἀφθονία G i 89.



- ωρρεβρωληρ**: ἐγκρατής *G* iv 172(†). — **νιθρην**: ἐγκράτεια *G* iv 168(†), *VC* 34.
- ωρρεβρην**: κωλύω *E* ii 26.
- ωρη**: οὖν 9 *exx.* μὲν οὖν 2 *exx.* γοῦν 2 *exx.* misc. c. 10 *exx.*
- ωρηωρ**: δίκαιος *G* iv 64 (*bis*), *E* ii 19. — **ωλ**: δίκαιος *G* iv 172.
- ωρηωρην**: ὄντως *G* ii 54, *E* ii 45, *VC* 88.
- ωρηωρηνιθρην**: δικαιοσύνη *G* iv 64, *E* i 6, ii 10, *VC* 17.
- ωρηεν**: ἄν w. opt. *G* iv 228, *VC* 56. **ρην ωρηεν**: ἄρά(γε) *G* i 17, *E* ii 49, *VC* 3.
- ωρηρην**. **φρηρην**: ἐνέργειαι *G* i 24.
- ωρενρην**: ἥλιος 9 *exx.*
- ωρενρην (ζ)**: ἄξιον 4 *exx.* δεῖ 3 *exx.* θέμις *GE* 2 *exx.* ὅσιον *E* ii 14.  
**ωρηωρ εν ωρενρην**: χρή *VC* 2 *exx.* — **ωρηεν**: ὁσίως *G* iv 102.  
 — **ωληρ**: καθήκον *G* iv 211. προσήκον *VC* 1. — **ωληρωρηρην**:  
 αἰσιώτατος *E* ii 18. — **ωληρηνιθρην**. **ωρενρην**: καθοοσιῶ *E* ii 47.
- ωρενρην**: ἄξιος 6 *exx.* w. verb (ζωδωρηρην, ωρενρην etc.): ἀξιῶ  
 8 *exx.* προκρίνω *G* iv 227.
- ωρενρηνωρενρην**: ἀλογῶ *G* i 51. ὀλιγορῶ *G* iv 191. καταφρονῶ *VC*  
 63(†).
- ωρενρην**: ἀνίημι *G* ii 64, *E* i 19.
- ωρενρην**: ῥίζα *G* u 15, *E* ii 68. συμφνία *VC* 7.
- ωρη**: ἄρσεν *E* i 7, ii 3.
- ωρηενρην**: τέχνη *G* iv 69, 76 (*bis*), 228 (*bis*), *VC* 16, 42. — **ωρηενρην**:  
 τεχνίτης *E* ii 68, *VC* 4. — **ωρηενρηνωρηρην**: τεχνικώτατος *VC* 49.  
 — **ωληρ**: ἐντεχνος *E* ii 63.
- ωρηενρην**: ἀνδρεία *G* iv 204 (*bis*). δικαιοσύνη *G* iii 8(?).
- ωρενρην-ωρηενρην**: βασιλικός *E* ii 66, 68. — **ρην**: βασιλικός *E* ii 62 (*ter*),  
 64, 65, 66 (*bis*), 68 (*quater*).
- ωρηενρηνωρηενρην**: βοηθός *E* ii 3. — **νιθρην**: βοηθεία *VC* 44.
- ωρηενρην**: βοηθῶ *G* i 17, *E* ii 16.
- ωρηενρην**: ὠφέλεια *G* iv 191, 204. (τὸ) συμφέρον *G* iv 206, *VC* 15.  
 (τὸ) λυσιτελές *E* ii 17. **ωρηενρην**: (ἀντ)ωφελῶ *G* i 17, iv 69,  
*E* ii 18, 25, *VC* 16. **ωρηενρηνωρηενρην**: ὠφελῶ *G* iii 26.
- ωρηενρην-ωρηωρ**: ὠφελίμως *E* ii 66. — **ωρηωρ**: ὠφελητικός *E* ii 18;  
 ὠφελίμος *VC* 56; λυσιτελής: *E* ii 13. — **ωρηωρωρηρην**: ὠφελι-  
 μώτατος *G* iii 30, iv 102. — **νιθρην**: ὠφέλεια *G* ii 54, iv 172,  
 227, *E* ii 25, 66.
- ωρη**: ἀήρ *G* ii 64 (*bis*), *VC* 3 (*bis*), 22, 35, 54. — **ωρηενρην**: ἀερο-  
 πόρος *VC* 8, 54.
- ωρηενρηνωρηωρ**: πλεονέκτης *G* iv 172(†). — **νιθρην**: πλεονεξία *G* iv  
 172(†), *VC* 2, 70(†).
- ωρηενρην**: πλείων, -ους 5 *exx.* περιττός *VC* 14.

**ωλιωαρ**: ξένος *G* ii 7, *E* ii 2 (*ter*). — **νελθρην**: ἀλλοτρίωσις *E* ii 2;  
— **εωδρ ρυνωθεν**: ξενιτεύω *E* ii 2.

**ωερ**: ἡμέρα 8 exx. **υνην ωερην**: αὐθήμερον *E* ii 15.

**ωερξν(ρ)**: νόμος 15 exx. νόμμα *E* ii 2, 68 (*bis*). παράγγελμα  
*E* ii 16. **ζωδην ωερξνρ**: δόγμα(τα) *E* ii 17 (*bis*), *VC* 26, 31,  
35, 68. **νενρην**: λόγον ἔχω *VC* 39. — **ωερρ**: νομοθέτης *E* ii 9.  
— **ωερρωκων**: νομοθετικός *E* ii 68 (*ter*). — **ωερρεν**: νομοθετῶ  
*E* ii 6, 45.

**ωερρηνωερρηνρην**: νομοθεσία *G* ii 54, iii 3, *VC* 78.

**ωερρηνωρ**: τρόπος *G* iii 3, 52, *E* ii 2, 66, 118, *VC* 29, 47, 72, 83.

**ωερρηνωερρ**: νόμμος *E* ii 19. **ρρηνρ**: εὐνομεῖμαι *E* ii 66.

**ωερρξν-εν**: εὐλογῶ *G* iv 198, 227, 228, *E* ii 18. — **νελθρην**: ὕμνος  
*VC* 80(†), 81, 84, 87. εὐλογία *G* iv 227.

**ρωρρην**: πολυ- *passim*.

**ρωρρηνωερρηνωρ**: πολύτροπος *G* iv 69, *VC* 39.

**ρωρρηνρηνρην**: πῶς *VC* 2, 49. — **εων ρυνωδωρ**: ὄχλος *G* iv 47.

**ρωρρηνρ**: πολὺς, πλείων 10 exx. μυρία *E* ii 49 (*bis*). **ωνρρηνρ**: πολ-  
λάκις 5 exx. **νερρρ**: πολλαχού *VC* 21.

**ρωρρην-εν**: ἀποτέμνω *G* i 24. (ἐπι)διαίρω *G* i 62. — **νενρ**: διαίρεσις  
*G* i 64.

**ρωρρρρρρηνρηνρηνρ**: συμφωνία *VC* 88.

**ρωρρρρρρ-εν**: συγκρίνω *VC* 3, 9, 58. — **νελθρην**: σύγκρισις *G* ii 54.

**ρωρρρρρρρ**: συνίστημι *VC* 65.

**ρωρρρρρρ(ρ)**: ἡμέρος *VC* 14, 75. — **ωνρ**: ἐρῶ *VC* 63, 67. ἐφίεμαι  
*E* ii 65, *VC* 11. ὀρέγομαι *G* iv 102, *VC* 68. βούλομαι *E* ii 16.

**ρωρρ**: δέ (adversative) 18 exx. δέ (opp. μέν) 16 exx. misc. c. 5  
exx. cf. **ωνρρρρρρ**.

**ρων**: λόγος (*logos, sermo, ratio*) 23 exx. — **ρυνρρρρρρρρ**: διεξέρ-  
χομαι *E* ii 68. — **ωερρρ**: λογογράφος *VC* 1. — **ωνρρ**: λογικός  
*G* ii 59 (*ter*), 62 (*bis*). λογιστικός *G* iv 179. — **ωερρρ**: λογικός  
*VC* 9.

**ρωρρρρ-εν**: — **ξωνρ ρωνρ**: ἀπονέμω 5 exx. προσνέμω *G* i 51. (ἐπι)διανέμω  
*E* ii 25(†). χωρρρρρρ *VC* 35. — **ρρ**: διανομέυς *G* i 62.

**ρωνρ**: λέξις *VC* 78, 88.

**ρωνρρρρρρ**. **ρρρρρρρρ**: ἀπολείπω *VC* 13. καταλείπω *G* i 20. **ρρ ρωνρρ**:  
ἀφαιρῶ *G* iv 172, *E* ii 25\*, *VC* 60.

**ρωνρρρρρρ**: ἐπίληπτος *VC* 6(†).

**ρωνρρρρρρρρρρρρ**: εἰημερία *VC* 89.

**ρωνρρρρρρρρ**: ληρῶ *G* ii 68.

**ρωνρρρρρρρρρρ**: ἐπιφθέγγομαι *G* i 17.

**ρωνρρρρρρρρρρρρ**: (παρ)εὐημερῶν *VC* 47(†). — **νελθρην**: εὐδαιμονία  
*G* iv 43, *VC* 11. εὐτυχία † *VC* 90.



- καλός** *G* ii 34, *VC* 26\*, 89. **κάλλιστος** *VC* 67. **εὐ-** *VC* 79.  
**καλλίος**: περικαλλής *VC* 50.
- καλοκαγαθία** *G* iii 8. — **καλοκαγαθία**: *εὐμορφος* *VC* 50. — **καλλός**: *καλός* *E* ii 66, 68, *VC* 78.
- καλός**: cf. **καλός**. — **καλοκαγαθία**: *ὑπερβολή* *E* i 6 (*bis*).  
**καλός**: γραμμή *VC* 51.
- καλοκαγαθία** (*ε*): *συμπόσιον* *VC*, 9 *exx.*
- καλοκαγαθία**: *νυκτοφύλαξ* *G* iv 228. — **καλοκαγαθία**: *παννυχίς* *VC* 83.
- καλός**: *εὖρημα* *VC* 4. — **καλός**: *οἶδα* 13 *exx.* *ἐπίσταμαι* *G* ii 54, iv 172.  
**καλός**: *ἀγνοῶ* *G* i 77. — **καλός**: *γνώσις* *E* ii 67. *ἐπίγνωσις* *E* ii 62. *ἐκδοχή* *E* ii 45. — **καλός**: *γνωρίζω* *E* ii 68.
- καλός**: *γραφή* *G* iii 3. **καλοκαγαθία**: *ιερόν γραμμα* *E* i 6, ii 19, 62(†).  
**καλοκαγαθία**: *ιερόν γραμμα* *VC* 28, 75(†), 78(†).
- καλοκαγαθία**: *ἡγεμονικός* *E* ii 50.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *κεφαλή* *VC* 31, 50, 77. *κεφάλαιον* *G* i 55 (*bis*), ii 54.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *εὐχαριστήριος* *VC* 87.
- καλός**: *εἰμί* c. 15 *exx.* *ὑπάρχω* *E* ii 63.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *συνίστημι* *E* ii 46. — **καλοκαγαθία**: *οὐσία* *G* ii 59 (*bis*), *VC* 7(†).
- καλός**: *χρῶμα* *G* ii 12.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *οὐσία* *E* i 45\*.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *ἐπαινετός* *G* iv 102, 228. — **καλοκαγαθία**: *ἐπαινος* *VC* 31, 77.  
*ἐγκώμιον* *G* iv 228.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *ἔργον* 8 *exx.* *διάθεσις* *VC* 48. *πραγματεία* *VC* 1. *πράξις* *G* iv 130. **καλοκαγαθία** *καλοκαγαθία*: *παρέργως* *G* ii 54. **καλοκαγαθία** *καλοκαγαθία*: *ἐνέργειαι* *G* i 24. *καλοκαγαθία* *καλοκαγαθία*: *ἐνέργω* *E* ii 16. — **καλοκαγαθία**: *πρακτικός* *VC* 1. — **καλοκαγαθία**: *δρῶ* 7 *exx.* *ἐργάζομαι* 1 *exx.* *ἀπεργάζομαι* *VC* 2 *exx.* *ἐνέργω* *G* iv 204, *VC* 42.  
*πράττω* *G* iv 228, *E* ii 3, 25. *misc.* 3 *exx.*
- καλοκαγαθία**: *εἰρετής* *G* i 20.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *σχεδόν* *VC* 59. *σχέδην* *VC* 77.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *γράφω* *G* iv 99(†), *E* ii 2, *VC* 57.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *τάξις* *VC* 11, 61, 75(†).
- καλοκαγαθία**: *δίκη* *G* i 89, iv 51, *E* ii 6. *κρίσις* *E* ii 10 (*bis*).  
— **καλοκαγαθία**: *δικαστής* *VC* 44. *βραβευτής* *E* ii 10. *διατηγής* *E* ii 68\*.  
— **καλοκαγαθία**: *κρίνω* *G* iii 3, iv 211(†).
- καλοκαγαθία**: *πάλιν* 5 *exx.* *αἶθις* *E* ii 17, *VC* 63. *misc.* 3 *exx.*
- καλοκαγαθία**: *φάρμακον* *G* iv 76, *VC* 74.
- καλοκαγαθία**: *πρόσωπον* 6 *exx.*
- καλοκαγαθία**: *εἰκός* *G* iv 69, 88. *misc.* 4 *exx.* — **καλοκαγαθία**: *εὐθυβόλος* *E* ii 68.





**εργηρ**: γῆ 11 exx. χώρα VC 15. — **υπαγιαυηκε**: προσκυνῶ G iv 130. VC 9.

**εργηρ**: φόβος E ii 21 (*ter*), VC 2. — **ωδαμωρ**: εὐλαβῶς G iv 102. — **ωδουθρην**: εὐλάβεια G iv 52.

**εργηρ**: οὐράνιος VC 12, 27, 59.

**εργηρ**: — **ην**: ἐκάτερος G E 5 exx. ἀμφοτέροι 2 exx. ἄμφω 2 exx.

**εργηρ**: δαλία G iv 204.

**εργηρ**: διττός G ii 68. διπλασίων VC 35.

**εργηρ**: γηγενής G i 20 (*bis*).

**εργηρ**: μακάριος G ii 54. εὐδαίμων VC 6.

**εργηρ**: τριάς G iv 30.

**ε**: καὶ conj. *plerumque*. καὶ adv. c. 25 exx. δέ c. 15 exx.

**ε**: — **ε**: ἐβδομάς E ii 68. — **ε**: ἐβδόμη, ἐβδομάς E ii 46, VC 32, 36. ἑβδομος E ii 46, 68 (*bis*).

**ε**: ἔτι 5 exx.

**ε**: — **ε**: διαφέρων G iv 180, E ii 46, 66\*, VC 59. — **ε**: (τὸ) διάφορον G iv 30.

**ε**: διαφέρω VC 1. ὑπερβάλλω E ii 105.

**ε**: κόσμος (ornament) VC 75, 80. — **ε**: διακοσμῶ E ii 68. βελτιῶ VC 1(†).

**ε**: ἀγαμαί G iv 166, VC 14(†). θανμάζω G iv 202, VC 14.

**ε**: στρατιωτικός E ii 45. — **ε**: σύμμαχος E ii 16.

**ε**: οἶα 4 exx. καθάπερ E 2 exx.

**ε**: δύναμις 30 exx. κράτος 3 exx. δυνάστεια 2 exx. misc. 3 exx. **ε**: ἀριστοκρατία E i 7.

**ε**: αἰσθητικός G i 29. — **ε**: αἰσθητός G i 24 (*bis*), ii 34, 54, VC 27. — **ε**: αἰσθησις E ii 3, VC 10.

**ε**: αἰσθητικός G ii 59 (*ter*). — **ε**: αἰσθησις G i 24 (*bis*), ii 34 (*bis*), 59, iv 43, E ii 9, VC 27, 45.

**ε**: (instr.) νήφων VC 42. νηφάλια VC 74(†).

**ε**: ἀσφάλεια VC 22, 23.

**ε**: μνηνῶ G ii 59, E ii 16, 47. δηλῶ E ii 18, 105.

**ε**: ὅτι (w. or. obl.) c. 15 exx. ὅτι (caus.) c. 5 exx. ἵνα 15 exx. γάρ 6 exx. misc. c. 10 exx. cf. **ε**.

**ε**: πῶς G ii 54. πῶς ἂν VC 6.

**ε**: μεταμέλεια G i 93 (*bis*), ii 54.

**ε**: εὐχαριστῶ G i 64.

**ε**: ἴσος 4 exx. **ε**: — **ε**: παραπλησίον VC 75.

**ε**: ἴσο- 3 exx. — **ε**: ἰσότης E i 16, ii 10, 64, VC 17.

**ε**: μάταιος E ii 9.

ηρληε: ἀδικῶ *E* ii 3. ζημῶ *G* iv 179. στερεῶ *G* iii 3.

ζαωξυ: ὄντως *G* i 100, *VC* 27.

ζε: θῆλυς *E* i 7, ii 3, *VC* 60.

ζελεθρην: οὐσία *G* i 92, ii 59 (*bis*), *E* ii 63, 68. (τὸ) εἶναι *E* ii 45.  
φύσις (?) *E* ii 63. μω-: παρουσία *E* ii 45.

ζεζδ-ωνωμ: εὐχομαι *VC* 56. —λερ ρηνερεμ: ἐπέυχομαι *VC* 89.\*

ζερερξ: ἀθλητής *G* iv 228.

ζερεν-ελερ: ἐπίληπτος *VC* 6. —εμ: misc. (—λαμβάνω, —εχω) 7  
exx. —ουμν, ζωγεουμν —ινωμν: κατάληψις *G* ii 34, *VC* 76.

ζεωμ-ελερ: ποτός *VC* 34. —εμ: πίνω *VC* 5 exx.

ζηνε. w. acc.: misc. (dat., συν-, κατά).

w. loc.: dat. after verb 3 exx. συν- 1 ex.

w. instr.: dat. 5 exx. ὑπὸ w. dat. *E* 2 exx. ὑπὸ w. acc. 2 exx.

ζηνεωρδαηλεθρην: εὐρυχωρία *G* iv 33.

ζηνερεμ: ἐναντίος 7 exx.

ζηνεελ: φίλος *VC* 41. —ωνεμ: ἐθίζω *VC* 13 (? v. l.), 35.

ζηνεξρ: διὰ τί 9 exx.

ζηνεζωνουερ. αζηωρωληων: πάνδημος *VC* 60, 62.

ζηνεμωωδουθρην: ἔννοια *E* ii 47.

ζηνεου-ελερ: ἀποδοχή *G* iv 166. μετουσία *E* ii 18. ἀντίληψις  
*VC* 33. —εμ: (ἀνα-, εἰς-, προς-) δέχομαι 10 exx. λαμβάνω  
5 exx. misc. 5 exx.

ζηνερερξ: δέπνον *VC* 83. συμπόσιον *VC* 83.

ζηνεωμ: δῶρον *G* i 62\*, iv 130. —ωμ: δωρητικός *G* i 62\*.

ζηνεερ: ἐταῖρος *G* iv 172, *VC* 13, 18\*, 40.

ζηνεουωωνεμ: κατακλίνομαι *VC* 75, 77.

ζηνεελ: χρῆμα *VC* 14, 16.

ζηνεων-εμ: οἰκείος 3 exx. οἰκειότερος *VC* 72 (*bis*). —εμ: οἰκειοῦμαι  
*G* iii 26. —ε οἰκείος *G* ii 34, 54. ἡμέρος *VC* 8, 9.  
—εμ: οἰκείως *E* ii 2.

ζηνεουμ: οἶκος *VC* 1.

ζηνεμ-εμ: αἶρῶ *E* ii 46, *VC* 83. ἐπικρίνω *VC* 72. ἐκλέγω *VC* 54\*.  
—εμ: ἐκλογή *E* ii 46.

ζουμ w. loc.: κατά w. acc. c. 40 exx. misc. 3 exx. ζουμ ορρμ, ωμ  
ωμ: παρόσον *VC* 2 exx.

ζουμωων-ελερ: ἐπίληπτος *G* i 64, *E* ii 17. —εμ: καταγινώσκω *VC*  
56.

ρωμωμ: βασιλεύς 9 exx. —ωμ: βασιλικός *G* iv 76. —εμ: βασιλεία  
*E* ii 105.

*ῥωτηγάνειν*: παρακαλύπτω *G* i 100.

*ῥωρηγάνειν*: ἐρμηνεύω *E* ii 62.

*ῥωρηρ*: κενός *VC* 55(†).

*ῥεῖει*: κοῦφος *G* iv 51.

*ῥερεω*: ἄν (w. opt.) *G* iv 228. ἴσως *VC* 15. ἴσως ἄν *VC* 48.

*ῥεε*: πτέρυξ *E* ii 65 (bis). — *ωρηγυ ῥηρη*: περοφυῶ *E* ii 65.

*ῥε*: ὅτι (w. or. obl.) 5 exx. τό w. inf. 4 exx. misc. 3 exx. *ῥρηρ*

*ῥε*: ὡς 6 exx. — *ωξε*: καὶ ἄν 3 exx. *ῥε*: εἰ καὶ 3 exx.

*ῥε*: ἀριθμός 6 exx.

*ῥηφωειν*: περιτέμνω *G* iii 52, *E* ii 2 (bis).

*ῥηνω*—*ω*: ὑβρίζω *G* iv 204. ἐνυβρίζω *G* ii 64. — *ωρη*: ὑβρισ-  
τής *G* iv 204. — *ωρη*: ὑβρις *VC* 42.

*ῥηνωρ*: ἐχθρός 9 exx. πολέμιος 4 exx. misc. 3 exx.

*ῥηνω*—*ω*: ἀτυχής *VC* 19. ἀθλιος *VC* 41. κακοδαίμων *G* iv 198.  
— *ῥη*: ἀτυχία *G* iv 52.

*ῥη*—*ωρηγάνειν*: ἀνίημι *VC* 36. — *ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: συγγινώσκω  
*G* iii 52. — *ῥη*: καταλείπω 4 exx. ἀπολείπω 2 exx. ἔω 3 exx.  
— *ῥη* 2 exx.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: ἀνίημι *VC* 2 exx. ἀφίημι *E* ii 13. ἔω *G* iv 33. *ῥη* *ῥη*:  
ἀπολείπω *G* iv 191.

*ῥη* *ῥη*: δοκῶ (intr.) 11 exx. νομίζομαι *G* iv 202. inf.: ὑπόληψις  
*E* ii 45. *ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: τάχα που *G* iv 64, *VC* 3. *ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*, *ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*  
*ῥη* *ῥη*: ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν *G* iii 52, *E* ii 16.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: χαλῶμαι *E* i 19.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: ἀναπέτομαι *E* ii 40.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*, *ῥη* *ῥη*: ἀναπεροφορηθεῖς *E* ii 40.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: καιρός 9 exx. χρόνος 3 exx.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*—*ῥη*: κληρονομῶ *VC* 13(†). — *ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: οὐσία *VC* 7 exx.  
κτήσεις *VC* 14.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: σύστημα *G* iv 145, *VC* 72(†). συναγωγή *E* i 19. σύνοδος  
*VC* 40(†). — *ῥη* *ῥη*: σύλλογος *VC* 30. — *ῥη*: ἀθροίζομαι  
*VC* 65(†), συνέρχομαι *VC* 32(†). — *ῥη* *ῥη*: λαός *E* ii 6, *VC* 86.  
δῆμος *E* i 21.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: ἀντέχω *VC* 35.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: ἐγκράτεια *E* ii 2.

*ῥη* w. acc.: εἰς c. 25 exx. ἐπὶ w. acc. c. 5 exx. πρὸς w. acc. 2 exx.  
w. loc.: ἐν c. 25 exx. misc. 5 exx.

w. abl.: ἐκ c. 10 exx. ἀπὸ 5 exx. ὑπὸ w. gen. 7 exx. gen. 7 exx.  
misc. 3 exx. cf. *ῥη*, *ῥη* *ῥη*.

*ῥη* *ῥη*: ὡς 4 exx. καθάπερ *E* ii 68.

*ῥη* *ῥη* *ῥη*: καθάπερ 5 exx. ὥσπερ 3 exx. ὡς 2 exx. misc. 3 exx.

**ἡρρεκε**: ὡς 7 exx. ὥσπερ 2 exx. **ἡρ**, **ῥε**: ὡς 8 exx.

**ἡδυν-ωλρ**: νοερός *G* ii 59. — **ωδ**: ἐπινοῶ *E* ii 45, 62. συνήημ *VC* 77. κατανοῶ *E* ii 68 (†).

**ἡδωυω-ωλ**: σοφίστης *VC* 4, 31. — **ωυε**: φιλόσοφος *VC* 2, 16\*, 57. — **ωυρρεδ**: φιλοσοφῶ *VC* 30, 34. — **ωρρεωλρ**: φιλοσοφία *G* ii 34. *VC* 14, 16, 26, 28\*, 67, 68, 89. σοφία *VC* 19, 35. — **ωλρ**: φρόνησις *G* iv 204\*, *VC* 31. σοφία *VC* 68 (*bis*). ? *E* ii 3. — **ωλ**: ἀστείος *G* ii 72, iv 51, 67, 76, 193, 204, *VC* 72. σοφός *G* ii 68, 72, iv 47, 69, *E* ii 13. ἐπιστημονικός *G* i 21, *VC* 49. φρόνιμος *G* ii 72.

**ἡνρ**: ἑαυτοῦ κτλ. c. 15 exx. **ἡνρρ**: αὐτοματισθείς *G* ii 34. αὐτο-*E* ii 2. — **ωυε**: φίλαντος *G* i 62.

**ἡρρ**: ἄρχων *G* i 20\*, iii 30, *E* ii 6 (*bis*), 64\*, 68\*, *VC* 9. ἡγεμών *G* i 20, ii 34, *VC* 83. — **ωλ**: ἀρχή *E* ii 68. βασιλικός *E* ii 66. — **ωλρ**: ἀρχή *G* iii 30\* (*bis*), iv 206. ἐξουσία *G* i 55, *VC* 43.

**ἡρρ**: ἄρχω *G* iii 30, *E* ii 66. τολμῶ *E* ii 1, *VC* 6 (†), 75.

**ἡρρ**: κατέρχομαι *E* ii 45.

**ἡλ**: δέ (transitional) c. 25 exx. δέ (opp. μέν) c. 35 exx. δέ (adversative) c. 10 exx. misc. 2 exx. cf. **ωρρ**.

**ἡρ(ρ)**: πράγμα 9 exx. αἰτία *E* ii 18. **ωδκων** **ἡρ**: παντελῶς *G* i 77. πάντως *G* i 51. **ωρρ** **ἡρ**: πλείονα *E* ii 6. — **ωλρ**: φιλοπραγμοσύνη *G* iv 47.

**ἡρ**: δικαίως *G* iv 204. — **ωρρ**: δικαῖω *VC* 1.

**ἡρ**: ἑαυτοῦ κτλ. c. 5 exx. ἴδιος 7 exx. οἰκεῖος 2 exx.

**ἡρρ**: ἕκαστος 8 exx.

**ἡλ**: ἀγαθός 5 exx. misc. 3 exx. — **ωρρ**: ἀμείνων 3 exx. βέλτιστος *G* ii 62. — **ωλρ**: βελτίωσις *G* iv 172.

**ἡρ**: γλώττη *E* ii 68. — **ωλρ**: γλωτταλγία *E* ii 118.

**ἡρ**: μεστός 3 exx. πλήρης 2 exx. γέμων 2 exx. ἀναπλέων *VC* 2 exx. — **ωλρ**: πλησμονή *VC* 37 (†).

**ἡν-ἡλρ**: γένεσις *E* ii 46, *VC* 6, 65. — **ἡδ**: γίνομαι c. 10 exx. εἰμί 3 exx. διατελῶ *VC* 10, 47. misc. 5 exx. w. ptc., adj. etc.: pass., intr. verb passim.

**ἡρρ**: ἀναιδής *G* iv 99.

**ἡρ**: πληρῶ *E* ii 68, *VC* 55. **ἡρ**: γέμων *VC* 54.

**ἡρ**. **ωλρ**: καθ' ἑαυτόν *E* ii 18. **ἡρ**: ἰδ. *E* ii 18.

**ἡρ**: φῶς *G* ii 34, iv 51, *VC* 7, 27, 34, 78.

**ἡρ**. **ἡ** — **ωλρ**: καταζεύγνυμι *VC* 70. — **ωλ**: λύω *E* ii 64, *VC* 63 (†). καταλύω *G* iii 52 (†). ἐπιλύω *VC* 75 (†). — **ωλ**: (τὰ) λυτικά *E* ii 64. — **ωλ**: ὑφείσις *G* i 24.

**ἡλ**. **ωλρ**: ἀκραφνής *G* i 93. — **ωρρ**: εἰλικρινέστατος *E* ii 67, *VC* 2 (†), 82.

ῥουσιωδῖς: καταρῶμαι *G* iv 202.

ῥουρ: ἀκοή *E* ii 9.

ῥουβδῖς: σιωπῶ *VC* 63.

ῥουλιερουθῖς: ἀκοή *VC* 31.

ῥου-ῥιθῖς: ἀκοή *E* ii 9 (*bis*), 16. —ῥδῖς: ἀκούω 5 *exx.* ἀκροῶμαι *VC* 3 *exx.*

ῥουθῖς: ἡσυχία *VC* 1\*, 75, 80. πλησμονή *G* ii 64(†).

ῥουθῖς: ἀναπληρῶ *E* ii 3.

ῥουθῖς: λείπω *VC* 11. καταλείπω *VC* 18(†).

ῥουθῖς: ἀπάτη *G* iv 228(†), 228, *E* ii 9(†), 14.

ῥουθῖς: ἡρεμῶ *G* iii 8(†). —ῥουθῖς: εἰρήνη 4 *exx.* ἡρεμία *G* iv 47. ἡσυχία *VC* 31. σπονδαί *VC* 41 (*bis*).

ῥουθῖς-ῥδῖς: μίγνυμι *G* ii 12, *E* ii 14. ἀναμίγνυμι *VC* 81, 85. συγκεράννυμι *G* ii 59. ἀνακίρνημι *VC* 88. —ῥουθῖς: κρᾶσις *G* i 17. σύνθεσις *G* iv 76. μίξις *VC* 23. —ῥουθῖς: ἐπιμείζω *VC* 20(†).

ῥουθῖς: σκότος *VC* 7, 34.

ῥουθῖς: διαλέγομαι *VC* 4 *exx.* λαλῶ *E* ii 68 (*bis*). cf. δῶμαρῖς.

ῥουθῖς: διάλεξις *VC* 79.

ῥουθῖς: ἐμπόδιος *E* ii 26.

ῥουθῖς: τραχύς *E* ii 13.

ῥουθῖς: ἐπιμέλεια *G* ii 54, *VC* 36(†), 72. κηδεμονία *E* ii 3. πρόνοια *E* ii 3. εὐνοια *G* iv 202(†). ὑπὸ ῥουθῖς: προκίδομαι *E* ii 64(†). προνοοῦμαι *E* ii 6. —ῥουθῖς: ἐπιμελῶς *G* ii 54. —ῥουθῖς: κηδεμών *E* ii 3.

ῥουθῖς-ῥουθῖς: φείδομαι *VC* 16.

ῥουθῖς: χαίρω *G* iv 52. —ῥουθῖς: χαρά *G* i 79 (*bis*). instr. ἄσμενος *VC* 72. ῥουθῖς: ἀσπάζομαι *VC* 1, 58, 90.

ῥουθῖς: αἰτοῦμαι *VC* 19, 27. ζητῶ *VC* 75. cf. ῥουθῖς.

ῥουθῖς: ἐμφράττω *G* iv 193.

ῥουθῖς-ῥουθῖς: φρόνησις *VC* 14(†).

ῥουθῖς-ῥουθῖς: ὑγρός *VC* 47.

ῥουθῖς-ῥουθῖς: ὁμολογῶ *G* iv 202. ἐπαγγέλλομαι *VC* 2, 3. —ῥουθῖς: ὁμολογῶ *E* ii 25.

ῥουθῖς: βάθος *G* ii 15, *VC* 45\*. ῥουθῖς: βύθιος *G* ii 15.

ῥουθῖς: σκηγή *E* ii 49.

ῥουθῖς-ῥουθῖς: λογίζομαι *G* i 21, ii 34(†). διανοοῦμαι *G* iv 206. ἐνθυμούμαι *G* i 93(†). κατασκέπτω (?) *G* ii 54. —ῥουθῖς: λογισμός *G* i 24, 93, ii 12, 34, 59, *E* ii 40, 47, *VC* 31, 40, 89(†). διάνοια *G* iv 211. ἐπίνοια *VC* 63(†). μυστήριον *VC* 25. misc. 3 *exx.*

ῥουθῖς-ῥουθῖς: διάνοια *E* ii 25\*. —ῥουθῖς: βουλευτήριον *VC* 27.

- ἡμιδαμ:** θόρυβος *VC* 19(†). **ῥαημνλθκω:** ὄχλος *G* iv 47.
- ἡριω:** παιδεία *G* i 65, *E* ii 13, 25. **ζωὺδαρ(η):** ἐπιστήμη *E* ii 13, 25, *VC* 64. —**κω:** παιδεύω *G* i 55, ii 54 (*bis*), iii 26, iv 104, *VC* 2, 66. σωφρονίζω *G* i 77. **ῥαημνλθκω:** προπαιδεύω *G* iii 30. —**ρλκω:** νοθεσία *G* iv 168.
- δαμ:** ἀνάλωμα *VC* 61. —**κω:** ἀναλίσκω *E* ii 15 (*bis*).
- δαδλ-κω:** ἐπισκιάζω *G* iv 204. σκεπάζω *E* ii 65\* (†). ἀποκρύπτω *VC* 28. —**ηθ:** σκέπη *VC* 38.
- δαηρ:** γέλως *G* iv 43, *VC* 58. γελοῖον *VC* 58. χλεύη *VC* 6.
- δαη:** ἄκρος *VC* 77, 90 (*superl.*).
- δαὺ-αιθ:** γνώριμος *G* i 21, *E* ii 16. —**ηθκω:** γινώσκομαι *E* ii 67.
- δαὺρ:** βαρὺς *VC* 88. —**ηθκω:** βαρύτερος *VC* 52.
- δαηω:** δοῦλος *G* iv 168, 206, *VC* 71. ὑπῆκοος *G* iv 206, *VC* 9\*, ἀνδρόποδον *VC* 50(†), 70(†). κακόδουλος *VC* 19. —**ωκω:** δουλοπρεπής *VC* 72. —**κω:** δουλεύω *E* ii 105 (*bis*).
- δαρη:** δίψη *VC* 37, 56. —**κω:** διψῶ *E* ii 13, *VC* 37.
- δερεκω:** πρεσβύτατος *VC* 31, 73. πρεσβύτερος *VC* 67 (*bis*).
- δεκω:** γεννῶ *G* ii 5, *E* i 6, *VC* 9, 17, 18, 70. τίκτω *VC* 68. ποιῶ *G* ii 34. **δεκω:** ποίημα *G* ii 34.
- δεκω:** γονεῖς *G* iii 52, iv 88, 202, *E* ii 3, *VC* 47, 72.
- δεκω:** γένεσις *G* i 28, ii 15, 34, iii 52, *E* i 1, ii 19, 46. ἔκγονος *G* i 28, *E* ii 14, *VC* 68.
- δαημ-ωδ:** παρασκευή *G* iv 76, *VC* 48(†). κατασκευή *G* iv 200. —**κω:** κατασκευάζω *VC* 15, 49, 60. ἀκριβῶς *VC* 49(†), 51. —**ηθκω:** παρασκευή *VC* 54(†). ἀνόρθωσις *E* ii 17.
- δαημκω:** μαλακώτερος *VC* 69.
- δαημκω:** κυλλάινω *E* ii 26.
- δαμ (I):** ἡ c. 15 exx.
- δαμ (II):** προαίρεσις *VC* 2(†), 29, 32(†), 67(†), 79. δόγμα *E* ii 16. δόξη *E* ii 2. βουλή *G* iii 3. **κω:** δοκεῖ μοι *E* ii 68.
- δαμ (III):** (ἀνα)κείμαι 4 exx. ἵστημι, (—)ἵσταμαι 9 exx. **δαμκω:** (—)μένω 6 exx.
- δαμ-ωκω:** ἐκούσιος *G* i 21, iv 64, *VC* 13, 68. ἐθελούσιος *E* ii 2, *VC* 71. —**κω:** βούλομαι *G* iv 51, *E* ii 3, 17, 46, 47, *VC* 40. ἐθέλω *G* i 17, iv 191, *E* ii 25, *VC* 64.
- δαμ-ωκω:** στάσιμος *VC* 80. —**κω:** ἵδρυσις *E* ii 17(†). σχέσις *VC* 77(†).
- δαημκω:** ἀνατείνω *VC* 77. πῆγνυμι *VC* 86.
- δαμκω:** κάμνω *E* ii 26.
- δαημκω:** ἔκστασις (?) *VC* 40.

**ζωωνισμ**-**ωδ**: τέλος *E i 1 (bis)*, 7, ii 26, *VC 88*. — **εωλ**: τέλειος *G iii 52*, iv 30 (*bis*), 88, 104, *E ii 1*. — **ωηνη**: τέλειος *VC 5* (*superl.*), 21. — **εωληωλ**: τέλειος *VC 11*. — **εωληωλ**: τελείως *VC 7*, 46, 55. — **εωλ**: τελεῶ *E i 1*, *VC 25 (bis)*. ἐπιτελῶ *E ii 16*, *VC 71*. ἀποτελῶ *VC 88*. διαπεραίνομαι *VC 81*.

**ζωρωιω**: χρεία *VC 9*. — **ρω**: δέομαι *E ii 1*, *VC 44 (†)*. — **ωρ**: ἐνδεία *E ii 3*, 10, *VC 14*, 15, 35. σπάνιος *VC 15 (†)*.

**ζωρη**: τάξις *G ii 34*, *VC 75 (†)*. διάθεσις *VC 61*. — **ω**: ἀκολουθία *VC 1*. ἐν κόσμῳ (?) *VC 66*. — **εω**: τάττω *E ii 19 (†)*, *VC 72*.

**ζωρηεω**: ἀκόλουθος *E ii 16*.

**ζωρεω**: δύναμαι c. 15 exx. **ρω**: ἄν εἴην *G iii 30*, *VC 19*. **εω**: ἀδυνατῶ *E ii 26*.

**ζωρθ-εω**: νομίζω 5 exx. ὑπολαμβάνω 4 exx. ὑπονοῶ 2 exx. οἶομαι 2 exx. δοκῶ 2 exx. ὑποτοπάζω *VC 57*. — **ρω**: δόκησις *E ii 45*, 107. οἷσιν *E ii 14*. ὑπόληψις *E ii 107*. ὑπόνοια *VC 28*.

**ζωρηεω**: παρίστημι *E ii 2 (†)*. ἐφίστημι *VC 37*.

**εω**: βῶ 3 exx. διαζῶ *VC 47*.

**εωρ**: βίος 7 exx. ζωή 3 exx. **ωρηω**: βιωφελέστατος *G iv 102*.

**εωρηω**: ζωτικός *G ii 15*, 59. — **ρ**: ζῶον 6 exx.

**εωρηω**: ζωή *VC 47*. **ωρηω**: βίος *VC 58*. — **ωρηω**: βιωφελέστατος *VC 60*.

**εωρηω**: τροφή 7 exx. σιτίον 2 exx. misc. 3 exx.

**εωρηω**: τρέφω 2 exx. ἐστὶν *VC 2 exx*. σιτῶ *VC 2 exx*.

**εωρηω**: μορφή *G iv 204*. — **ωρηω**: εἰκόν *G ii 62*, *E ii 66*. σχῆμα *VC 51*. εἶδωλον *VC 72*. — **ωρηω**: ἡ ὁμοειδέτης: ἀπεικονίζω *G ii 62*. **ωρηω**: μεταμορφῶ *G i 92*, *E ii 1*.

**εω**: γυνή c. 15 exx.

**εωρηω**: ἡμίθεος *VC 6*.

**εωρ**: ἡ ἑρως: χρῶμαι 3 exx. ἐπιτηδεύω *VC 69*.

**εωρηω**: ἔλεγχος *VC 64 (†)*.

**εωρηω**: παρθένος *E ii 3 (bis)*, *VC 68*.

**εωρηω**: τυφλός *VC 13*.

**εωρηω**: ἡ ἀνάκλησις *E ii 46*. — **εω**: καλῶ 7 exx. ἀνακαλῶ *E ii 46*. ἐπικαλῶ *VC 21*. — **ωρηω**: ὁμοειδέτης: πρόσρησις *VC 2*.

**εωρηω**: ἀπόλλυμαι *E ii 49*.

**εωρηω**: τυφλώττω *VC 13*. τυφλοῦμαι *VC 61*. — **ωρηω**: ἀορασία *G iv 40*.

**εωρηω**: ἡ ἐγκράτεια *G iv 168*. — **ωρηω**: ἐγκράτεια *G iv 172 (†)*, *E ii 18 (†)*.

**εωρηω**: φορητός *E ii 49*.

**εωρηω**: πάσχω 3 exx. ὑπομένω 2 exx. misc. 5 exx.

ληρλήν: διπλοῦς 3 exx.

ληρολή· ῥήρ- ἡωνῶν: ὑπονοστώ *E* i 7, ii 40.

ληρυνερ: νεώτερος *G* iv 169, 172. —ωηρηγν: νεώτερος *G* i 65.

ζωηρη: μόλις *G* ii 54, *VC* 35(†).

ζωηωνωη: ἐναντίος *E* 3 exx. ἀντίπαλος *G* iv 228. ἀντι- 2 exx.

—ηρη: ἀντίπαλος *E* ii 21.

ζωδνη· ωερξήρ: δόγματα *E* ii 17.

ζωδωνων: ὁμοιότροπος *G* iv 33, 43.

ζωδωνονζωηη: ὁμόφυλος *VC* 10.

ζωδωρηη: νομίζω 4 exx. ἡγοῦμαι 3 exx. (—)κρίνω 4 exx. misc. 3 exx. ωρδωνη: ἀξιώ *G* 3 exx.

ζωδρωνων: (—)αίρομαι 2 exx. ἀνατείνω *VC* 66, 89(†).

ζωδρων: φήμη *VC* 64.

ζωδρερ-εη: ὑπομένω *E* ii 25. —νηρην: ἐγκράτεια *E* ii 18(†). καρτερία *E* ii 2.

ζωδρηρη: ἰλεως *G* iii 26(†).

ζωδδωνων-ωηρηγν: ἀνάλογος *E* ii 25. —νηρην: ἀναλογία *G* iv 102 (? Harris ἀνάκη).

ζωδδων: καθεστώς *VC* 31 (*bis*).

ζωη-εγηωνδ: βλέμμα *G* iv 99, *VC* 31, 77. —ηη: κατανοῶ 2 exx. (†). ἀφορῶ 2 exx. (1 ex. †). ζηρηρ: περιαθρῶ *G* ii 72. περισκοπῶ *G* iii 3. misc. 3 exx.

ζωρη: πατήρ 15 exx. —εην· ηωνων: πατρίς *VC* 47.

ζωνωνων· ωη: εἰσάπαν *E* ii 64.

ζωνηηη: ἴσος *G* iv 102(†). —ωηων: ἰσοδύναμος *G* iv 228\*.

ζωνηωνων: ἡσυχῇ *E* ii 25. —ωηρηγν: ἡρεμαιοτέρος *VC* 77. —ηη: σχολαῖος *VC* 76(†). —εγηωνδωνων: ἡσυχάζω *E* ii 118. —ηη: ἡρεμῶ *G* iii 8(†). —νηρην: ἡρεμία *VC* (v.l. ἐρημία †).

ζωνηηηηδ: μετά w. gen. 6 exx.

ζωνηηηηδωνων· εη: μέλλω 8 exx.

ζωνηηηη: ἀγών *VC* 41. —ωνων: διαγωνίζομαι *VC* 1(†).

ζωνηηη· ηηων: ἀφαιρῶ 2 exx. ἐξαιρῶ *G* ii 54. misc. 2 exx.

ζωνδων: ἐπιστήμη *E* ii 13(†), 25(†), 62, 67, *VC* 5, 25, 35, 42\*, 64(†). —ωηρηγν: ἐπιστημονικώτατος *E* ii 63. —ωηων: ἐπιστημονικός *E* ii 63. —εη: ἐπιστημονικός *VC* 49(†).

ζωρη: ἰλεως *G* iii 26(†), *E* ii 66, 68. —ωηων: ἰλεως *E* ii 68 (*ter*). —ωνων: ἰλαστήριον *E* ii 66 (*bis*), 68 (*quater*).

ζωνωνη: ἡλικία 6 exx.

ζωνωνωνων: (—)λαμβάνω 2 exx. (—)λαγχάνω 2 exx. ἀφ-, ἐφικνοῦμαι 2 exx. τυγχάνω 2 exx. misc. 5 exx.



- ζωουρωλή*: κοινός 7 exx. misc. 3 exx. — *ωλήων*: κοινός VC 60.  
 — *ουθρήν*: κοινωνία G i 17, iii 3, E ii 3 (?), 68.  
*ζωουρυν*· *ρυν*· *ρυν*· *ρυν*: κατάληψις G ii 34, VC 76.  
*ζωουρυν*· *ρυν*· (*ρυν*): ἵδρυμαι 3 exx. misc. 2 exx. — *ουθρήν*:  
 κατάστασις VC 23(†). instr.: βεβαίως E ii 16, VC 31. — *ου*:  
 βέβαιος G i 17, E ii 17, 45.  
*ζωρρωρ*: γνήσιος VC 72, 90\*.  
*ζωρή*: ἀνάγκη 7 exx. — *ωρ*: ἀναγκαῖος 11 exx. — *ωρρωρ*:  
 ἀναγκαιότατος VC 61. — *ωρρωρ*: ἀναγκαῖος VC 29.  
*ζωρυν*: πείθομαι G iv 88. καταπείθομαι E ii 16. *ρ*: ἀπειθῶ  
 G iv 88.  
*ζωρυν*· *ρυν*: παραπλήσιος: E ii 13. *ρυν*: παραπλήσιος VC  
 75. — *ουθρήν*: ισότης E i 6, ii 3 (?).  
*ζωρυν*: πίστις E ii 16, 45. — *ρυν*: πιστεύομαι E ii 9(†).  
*ζωρυν*: ὑποκριτής G iv 69.  
*ζωρ*· *ρυν*· *ρυν*: ἡδονή G iv 43, 168, E ii 14, VC 2, 50\*, 58, 68,  
 69. ἐπιθυμία VC 74. — *ωρ*· *ρυν*· *ρυν*: ἡδοναί G i 29.  
 — *ωρ*· *ρυν*: φιληδονία G iv 33. — *ωρ*· *ρυν*: ἡδύνη VC  
 53. — *ουθρήν*: ἡδονή G i 51, iii 26, E ii 2, 14(†).  
*ζωρ*· *ωρ*· *ρυν*: διάστημα E ii 28. — *ρ*: μακράν (adv.) E ii 26.  
*ζωρ*· *ωρ*: δυνατότερος VC 70. — *ωρ*· *ρυν*: ισχυρογνώμων:  
 G ii 54.  
*ζωρ*· *ρυν*: ἔκστασις G i 24.  
*ζωρ*: θεμέλιος VC 34. — *ωρ*· *ρυν*: ἐνιδρύν VC 35(†).  
*ζωρ*: παλαιός 4 exx. (δ) πάλαι VC 80, 85(†).  
*ζωρ*: νοσῶν E ii 25. — *ουθρήν*: νόσος 3 exx. μαλακία E ii 18.  
*ζωρ*: ἐπιστήμων G iv 76.  
*ζωρ*· *ρυν*: ἐμπειρότατος VC 31.  
*ζωρ*: φροντίς E ii 13. ἐπιμέλεια VC 16. *ωρ*· *ρυν*: φροντίζω VC 53,  
 75. — *ωρ*: ἐπιμελής G iv 227(†).  
*ζωρ*· *ωρ*: ψυχικός G i 51. — *ωρ*: πνευματικός G i 92.  
*ζωρ*: ψυχή 31 exx. πνεῦμα G i 51, ii 59 (bis), VC 76\*.  
*ζωρ*: διηκεῖς G iv 30. — *ουθρήν*: πύκνωσις G ii 64.  
*ζωρ*: γῆ E ii 46. — *ωρ*: γηγενής G ii 54, E ii 46, 55.  
*ζωρ*· *ωρ*: σοκιάζω E ii 65 (bis).  
*ζωρ*: πῦρ 5 exx. φλόξ E ii 15.  
*ζωρ*· *ωρ*: τυφός VC 39.  
*ζωρ*· *ωρ*: εἰσαγωγή G i 55(†).  
*ζωρ*· *ωρ*: πρόσταξις 3 exx. διάταξις 2 exx. χρῆσμός G 2 exx. ἐπι-  
 κέλεις VC 71. *ωρ*: κελεύω E ii 15. *ωρ*· *ρυν*: ἀπαγορεύω  
 E ii 9.  
*ζωρ*· *ωρ*: ἄγγελος G i 92, E ii 16 (bis).

- δωμή**: φωνή *E* ii 16, 68, *VC* 31, 33.  
**δέουαλερ**: χειροποίητος *VC* 15.  
**δέου**: χεῖρ *VC* 4 exx. **ἡ δέου**: διά w. gen. c. 25 exx. — **αρχαυέδ**:  
 παρεγχειρῶ *E* ii 1. — **αρχουθρ**: ἐγχείρημα *E* ii 1.  
**δέ**: σχῆμα *G* iv 206, *VC* 4, 30, 72. **λαυαν δέου**: σχέσις *VC* 77.  
**δωλαδουθρ**: ἀκολασία *G* iv 204.  
**δωλαξέδ**: γινώσκω *G* iv 52. γνωρίζω *VC* 10(†).  
**δωλα-αυουθρ**: γένσις *VC* 45, 53. — **έδ**: γένομαι *G* i 85.  
 ἀπογεύομαι *VC* 35.  
**δωλαυαυ**: ὁδός 6 exx. **αυαυ**: ὁδοιπορῶ *E* ii 13.  
**δω**: (τὸ) ῥητόν *G* iv 172, *E* ii 21, 37, *VC* 28\*. δόγησις *G* iv 168.  
 — **αυ**: ῥητός *VC* 78.  
**δωαυ**: ἐπείγομαι *E* ii 13, *VC* 72.  
**δωαυ**: ἀκριβῶς *G* iii 3, *VC* 49\*(†).  
**δωαυαυ**: ἀκριβῶς *E* ii 68.  
**δωαυαυ**: ἀληθής 7 exx. ἀψευδής *G* ii 34(†). **αυαυ**: ἀληθεύω  
*G* iv 69 (*bis*).  
**δωαυαυαυ**: ἀκριβέστερος *VC* 75. — **αυαυ**: ἀλήθεια 12 exx.  
 ἀψευδής *G* ii 59\*(†).  
**δω**: θάνατος 4 exx. **αυαυ**: θανατῶ *VC* 43. — **αυαυ**: θανατῶν  
*G* ii 12. — **αυαυ**: θνητός *VC* 68 (*v. l.*). — **αυαυαυ**: θνητός  
 6 exx.  
**δωαυ**: μήτηρ 7 exx.  
**δωαυαυ**: μάλιστα 4 exx.  
**δωαυαυαυ**: μειρακίωδης *VC* 6. — **αυαυ**: παιδικός *VC* 61 (*bis*).  
 — **αυαυ**: νεώτερος *G* i 20. ἐπὶ παῖς *VC* 50. — **αυαυαυ**:  
 παιδευαστής *VC* 52, 61. — **αυαυ**: νεότης *G* ii 54 (*bis*).  
 — **αυ**: (οἱ) νέοι *VC* 77.  
**δωαυαυ**: νέος *G* iv 200\*, *E* ii 13, *VC* 81. βρέφος *G* iii 52 (*bis*).  
 τέκνον *VC* 47.  
**δωαυαυ**: συντρέβω *E* ii 17 (*ter*).  
**δωαυ**: μέρος 16 exx. μερίς *VC* 82.  
**δωαυαυαυαυ**: κυβερνῶ *G* ii 64. οἰκονομῶ *G* iv 67. — **αυαυ**:  
 οἰκονομία *G* iv 204.  
**δωαυαυαυαυ**: προσφέρω 2 exx. ἐπιφέρω *VC* 37. misc. 4 exx.  
 in combination 6 exx.  
**δωαυαυαυ**: προφήτης 5 exx. προφήτις *VC* 87. — **αυαυαυαυ**:  
 προφητικώτατος *E* ii 67.  
**δωαυ**: ἄνθρωπος 18 exx. Ἀδάμ *G* i 21. — **αυαυ**: φιλόανθρωπος  
*G* iv 193. — **αυ**: ἄνθρωποι 13 exx. **δωαυαυαυαυ**: ἀνθρώπινος

- G* iv 52. — *ιωην*: ἀνθρώπιος *G* i 20. ἀνθρώπινος *VC* 39.  
 — *ιωνζωδνθρην*: δημοκοπία *G* iv 47. — *ιωρξζωαην*: ἀν-  
 θρωπικώτερος *VC* 58.
- ιωρρην*: σῶμα 19 exx. σάρξ *G* ii 59 (*ter*).  
*ιωρρνωληρ*: (τὸ) περὶ σῶμα *VC* 68.  
*ιωρρηρ*: καθαρὸς *G* iv 130, *VC* 66, 73.  
*ιωρρ-ωαην*: καθαρώτατος *E* ii 63. — *νθρην*: καθαριώτης *VC* 53.  
*νθδ*: μέγας, μείζων, μέγιστος 9 exx. ἐξάρετος *G* i 20. — *ωνθδ*:  
 μέγας κτλ. 3 exx. — *ωνθνθρην*: μεγαλόνοια *VC* 16.  
 — *νθρην*: μέγεθος 4 exx. πλοῦτος 4 exx. περιουσία *VC* 56.  
 — *ωζω*: πλουσίως *VC* 35.
- νθηνωλ*: ἐξάρετος *E* ii 3(†), *VC* 36(†).  
*νθηννθρην*: ἐρμείνεια *G* iii 52, *VC* 28, 76.  
*νθην-ζνθ*: ἀμαρτάνω *G* i 65 (*bis*), iv 61. ἀδικῶ *G* iii 52. — *ρ*:  
 ἀμάρτημα *G* i 65\*, iv 64, 172.
- νθ-νθζνθνθ*: ἀμαρτάνω *G* i 77\*. — *ρ*: ἀμάθεια *E* ii 25.  
*νθρδ-ωληρ*: (ὁ) πλησίον *VC* 43. (ὁ) ἀφ' αἵματος *VC* 15. — *νθωνθ*:  
 πλησιάζω *G* iii 8, *VC* 10. ἐπιψάνω *E* ii 45.
- νθζ* w. prep.: εἰς, κατὰ μέσον κτλ. 6 exx. παρα- 4 exx. misc. 4 exx.  
*νθ* (I): εἰς, μία 11 exx. *νθ* . . . *νθ* etc.: ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ c. 10 exx.  
*νθ κ νω*: εἰς κ. ὁ αὐτός *VC* 77. *νθ ρων νθρζ*: κατὰ τάξεις  
*VC* 8. + *νθνθ*: ἐκτάτω *VC* 49.
- νθ* (II): μή *passim*. *νθ νθζ*: μηδέν *passim*.  
*νθωννθνθρην*: ὁμόνοια *E* ii 68. συμφωνία *G* i 17. κοινωνία *VC*  
 24. *νθνθ-νθων*: σύστημα *VC* 72.
- νθωλ*: μονάς *G* i 77, *E* ii 68.  
*ωνωνζωννθ*: σπληνίβδην *E* ii 68.
- νθων*: μόνος, —ον: c. 20 exx. — *ων*: μονῶ *VC* 30. — *ωνων*:  
 μοναστήριον *VC* 25.
- νθωνθωνθ*: ἄπαξ 2 exx. *νρ(νθζ)*: ὅσα 2 exx. — *ωνν*: ἄμα *E*  
 2 exx. ὁμῶς *G* 2 exx. ἀθρόος *E* ii 25 (*bis*). κατὰ τὰ αὐτά (?)  
*E* ii 55.
- νθωνρηρ-ωλνθ*: ἐνωτικός *VC* 63. ἐν ταυτῷ *VC* 43. — *νθ*: ἐνω  
*G* ii 54 (conj. Mangey), iii 3. — *νθρην*: ἔνωσις *G* iii 3.
- νθνθωνν*: ἄλληλοι 3 exx. *νθ*: συν- *E* ii 66. δια- *E* ii 68.
- νθωνζ*. *νθ*: ὡς w. inf. 6 exx. (*νθ*) ἄχρι, μέχρι 4 exx.
- νθζων*: αἰέ 5 exx. εἰς ἅπαν *E* ii 17.
- νθζ-ωλ*: μέσος *E* i 6. — *ωνωνζωννθ*: μεθόριος *G* i 28, iv 64. — *νθρη*  
*νθνθνθ*: μεσιτεύω *E* ii 68.
- νθων(ρ)*: νοῦς 14 exx. διάνοια 10 exx. νόημα 5 exx. ἔννοια *G* ii 34,  
*VC* 87. ψυχή *E* ii 3. *νθνθ νθων ωθνθ*: διανοῶ *G* ii 54. ἐννοῶ  
*G* i 93. σκοπῶ *E* ii 68. στοχάζομαι *G* iv 104. περιθρῶ *VC* 15.  
*νθνθ*: προσέχω *VC* 77. *νθ-ωννθωνθ*: καταλαμβάνω *VC* 77(†).

- δῆλυ**: ἕτερος 4 exx. — **ἡνιφας**: ἀνα- *E* ii 17.  
**δυναμ**: cf. **ἡμ**, **θνητ**. ἀπολείπομαι *VC* 54, 76(†). μένω *G* iv 204.  
**δυσὺνδρην**: ἀτίδης *E* ii 66. — **νεθρην**: διαμονή *E* ii 19.  
**δολ-εξήκω**: μανιώδης *VC* 40. — **εξήκω**: μανιώδης *VC* 14. — **ἡμ**: ἐπιμαίνεσθαι *VC* 6, 59. βακχεύομαι *VC* 12(†). — **ηρω**: ἀστήρ (?) *G* ii 34. πλανήτης *VC* 5. — **νεθρην**: μανία *G* i 24.  
**δω-αηρηθρην**: νοουθεσία *G* iii 26. — **ωδνεθρην**: ἐπίνοια *E* ii 62, *VC* 63(†). ὑπόνοια *VC* 78. ἐνθύμιον *VC* 78(†). — **ωληρ**: νοητός *E* ii 68 (*bis*), *VC* 68.  
**δργ-ἡνιφ**: ἄθλον *E* ii 19, *VC* 82. βραβεῖον *G* iv 228. — **ημν**: ἀγωνισμα *G* iv 228.  
**δωδνημν**: περίοδος *G* ii 34.  
**δωημν**: περί w. gen. 9 exx. ἕνεκα 7 exx. χάριν 3 exx. ὑπέρ w. gen. 3 exx. misc. 4 exx.  
**δωγνθμν**: τότε 2 exx.  
**δωγν-ἡνιφ**: δηλωτικός *G* i 93. — **ἡμνθμν**: ἐναργέστατος *E* ii 47. — **ἡμνθμν**: εἰλικρινές *E* ii 47. ἐμφανῶς *E* ii 2(†), 45. ἐναργῶς *E* ii 45. τηλαυγῶς *G* iii 3(†). φανερώς *G* i 21. — **ἡμν**: φανερός *G* iv 99, *E* ii 37. ἐμφανής *E* ii 21. **γνημνθμν**: ἀποδείκνυμι *VC* 40.  
**δωημνθμν**: ἔλεγχος *G* iii 26, iv 168, *VC* 64(†).  
**δωημνθμν**: διαμαρτάνω *E* ii 13(†). — **θμν**: ἀμαρτήμα *G* ii 68.  
**δωημνθμν**: βάσκανος *G* iv 227. — **νεθρην**: βασκανία *G* iv 191.  
**δωημνθμν**: εὐδοῶ *G* iv 69. — **ἡμνθμν**: ἐπιτηδειότατος *VC* 22. — **νεθρην**: εὐπραγία *G* iv 191, *E* ii 55. **θμν**: κακοπραγία *E* ii 55.  
**δωημνθμν**: πρῶτος, —ον 2 exx. **θμν**: πρό 10 exx. — **θμνθμν**: προ- 8 exx. πρότερον 3 exx. **ἡμνθμν**: πρῶτον *G* ii 54. — **ἡμνθμν**: φθάνω *VC* 71(†). — **ἡμνθμνθμν**: πρωτόπλαστος *E* ii 46. — **ἡμνθμν**: προκόπτω *G* iv 30, 51, *E* i 7. — **θμν**: φθάνω *G* i 89.  
**δωημνθμν**: ιδιώτης *G* iv 206. ἰδία (?) *VC* 85.  
**δωημνθμν**: —**εμν** **ἡμνθμνθμν**: προκρίνω *G* iv 198. προτιμῶ *VC* 16. — **θμν**: ζῶμα **θμνθμν**: προκρίνω *G* iii 26(†).  
**δωημνθμν**: συνάπτω *E* i 1. προσάπτω *VC* 6(†).  
**δωημνθμν**: ὀρμητήριον *E* ii 64. ὀρμή *VC* 16.  
**δωημνθμν**: ἐναρμόνιος *VC* 88(†). — **θμν**: ἀρμόζω *E* ii 17(†), 66. ἐφαρμόζω *G* iv 76. — **νεθρην**: ἀρμονία *G* ii 34, *VC* 63, 84. — **θμν**: ἀρμονία *G* iii 3. ῥυθμός *VC* 29.  
**δωημνθμν**: προσθήκη *E* ii 1. — **θμν**: προστίθημι 5 exx.  
**δωημνθμν**: ἀεπάρθενος *VC* 65.  
**δωημνθμν**: διαωνίζομαι *E* ii 64.  
**δωημνθμν**: προθυμία *VC* 71. **ἡμνθμν**: προαίρεσις *VC* 67.  
**δωημνθμν**: αἶων *E* i 1.

- jhun*: μετά w. acc. c. 10 exx. *uwhw h*: μικρόν ὕστερον 2 exx.  
 —*nj*: ὕστερον 2 exx. μετα- *E* ii 63. *jhwh*: ἔσομαι *E* ii 49.  
 —*p(h)*: τὰ κατόπιν *G* ii 72. τὰ ὀπίσω *G* ii 72.  
*jhrlwrlh*: δολιχεύω *E* i 1. μηκύνω *VC* 56. βραδύνω *VC* 76.  
*jhrlw-wnwh*: ἐνδιαστικός *G* i 55. —*wnwh*: inf.: ἐνδυσασμός *G* i 55.  
*jhwh*: ἀτοπος *G* i 20(†). —*nlphlh*: ἀφροσύνη *G* iv 179. ἡλιθιότης *E* ii 45.  
*jh-wnwh*: μνήμη *VC* 26, 57\*. —*wrlh*: μνημεῖον *G* iv 191, *VC* 29. —*hghwhh*: inf.: ὑπόμνησις *VC* 78.  
*jhrlwh*: δεόντως *G* iv 76. δίκαιον *G* iv 52. εἰκότως *G* i 94, *E* ii 66 (bis). κατὰ λόγον *E* ii 3.  
*jnh*: ἐλπὶς 5 exx.  
*jhrwh*: ὅταν 8 exx. ἐπειδάν *VC* 3 exx. misc. 5 exx.  
*jhrwh*: ρεῦμα *E* ii 13. φορά *E* ii 25.  
*hw*: αὐτός *plerumque*. αὐτὸς ὁ 3 exx. ἐκείνος *GE* 9 exx. *hw* . . .  
*uw*: ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ 2 exx. *hwh*: ὁ δέ 2 exx.  
*whhrlh*: *hl whrlh*: σεμνός *G* iv 40, *VC* 29, 88, 89\*.  
*whw*: *wnwh*: πρῶτον 5 exx. *jwnwhwhh*: πρῶτον *G* ii 54.  
 —*whwnwhh*: πρόνοια *G* ii 34. —*whwnwhh*: προπάθεια *G* i 79.  
*whwhh*: ζῆλος *G* iv 168, *VC* 32, 68. φθόνος *G* iv 191. w. verb (*hwhh*, *wnwh* etc.) ζηλῶ *G* i 51 (v. l.), *VC* 1, 70. φθονῶ *VC* 75. —*hrlh*: ζηλωτός *E* ii 68. —*hwh*: ζηλῶ *VC* 48, 82. inf.: φθόνος *G* i 55.  
*whwhh-h*: ὀνειδίζω *G* iv 168\*. —*hwh*: ὀνειδος *G* iv 99.  
*whwhwh*: ἀθλητής *VC* 41. ἀσκητής *VC* 69.  
*whwhwh*: κυβερνήτης *G* ii 34, 76. —*whwh*: κυβερνητική (τέχνη) *G* iv 76.  
*hwh*: στενός *G* iv 33\*(†). —*hwh*: θλίβομαι *G* iv 33. —*nlphlh*: μείωσις *VC* 56(†).  
*hwh*: δόλος *G* iv 228. —*nlphlh*: δόλος *G* iv 228 (bis). *wnwhg-hwh*: ἀδόλως *G* iv 228.  
*hwhh*(*p*): (τὰ) ἐνεστώτα *G* ii 72.  
*hwhh*: συγγνώμων *G* iv 193.  
*hwhw*: *h*: εἰς- 4 exx. ἐν- *VC* 78. εἴσω *G* iv 80. ἐντός *G* ii 5.  
 —*whwhh*: ἐσώτατος *E* ii 68.  
*hwhh*: κατάρα *G* iv 202 (bis), *E* ii 19. ἄρα *G* iv 51.  
*hwh*: ἰδρυσις *E* ii 17(†), 68\*(†).  
*hwh*: ἔλη *G* i 172, *E* ii 15. 47, *VC* 4, 49, 69. *hwhwhh* —*nj*: οὐσία (possessions) *VC* 7.  
*whwh*: ὁμοιος *G* ii 5, *VC* 82. ἐμφερής *E* ii 47. παραπλήσιος *E* ii

- 13(†). **ῥερεῖς**: ἐξομοιοῦμαι *G* ii 62. — **ωμξ**: ὁμοίως *VC* 75.  
 — **εῖς**: ὁμοιω *G* i 77, *E* ii 55. εἰκάζω *G* i 92. μιμοῦμαι *VC* 62.  
 — **ῥε**: ἔοικα *G* ii 34, *VC* 78. — **πλεῖς**: (τὸ) ὅμοιον *G* iv 204.  
 ὁμοιότης *G* ii 54. μίμημα *VC* 85. **ῥερεῖς**: μιμοῦμαι *G* iv 69, *VC*  
 29. **ωνεῖς**: ἀπεικονίζω *VC* 87. — **νη**: μιμητής *G* i 77.  
**ῥε**: σύμβολον *VC* 78. **ωνεῖς**: ὑποσημαίνω *VC* 66. — **ωλ**:  
 σύμβολον 7 *exx.* σημείον *G* iv 99. instr.: συμβολικῶς *G* ii 64,  
*E* ii 68. — **ωλ**: συμβολικός *E* ii 68. — **ωλεῖς**: διασημαίνω  
*VC* 77. — **ωλερ**: σημειώδης (superl.) *VC* 57.  
**ῥε**: ὁ αὐτός c. 10 *exx.* αὐτὸς ὁ *VC* 2 *exx.*  
**ῥε-ωλερ**: καινουργῶ *G* iv 51. — **νη**: καινός *VC* 80. — **νη**  
**πλεῖς**: καινότης *VC* 63.  
**ῥε**: μέλος *VC* 80, 84, 88. — **ωλερ**: ἐναρμόνιος *VC* 88(†).  
 — **ωλερ**: ἐμμελέστατος *VC* 83.  
**ῥε**: ἐλάττων *G* iv 102, *VC* 16. — **ῥε**: ἐλαττοῦμαι *VC* 61(†).  
**νη**: οὐχ ἦττον *VC* 77. — **πλεῖς**: σπάνις *VC* 1, 15(†), 62.  
**ῥε-εῖς**: σπένδομαι *E* ii 14. ἀνατίθημι *VC* 64. — **ῥε**: ἀνάκειμαι  
*VC* 81.  
**ῥε**: ἐπιβολή *VC* 79.  
**ῥε**: ἰκανός *VC* 79(†). **ξ**: χρή *G* iv 52.  
**ῥε**: λάλος *E* ii 118. — **πλεῖς**: φλναρία *VC* 10, 64.  
**ῥε-εῖς**: κυῶ *G* i 21, ii 15. — **πλεῖς**: κίνησις 7 *exx.*  
**ῥε**: χάρις *G* i 89, *E* i 1. — **ωλερ**: εὐχαριστία *G* iv 130.  
 — **εῖς**: χαρίζομαι *E* ii 18, *VC* 16.  
**ῥε**: πνεῦμα *E* ii 55. πνοή *G* ii 59. **ῥε**: ἀναπνέω *VC* 84.  
**ῥε**: περι- 3 *exx.* περί w. acc. 2 *exx.* — **ῥε**: κύκλον (adv.)  
*E* ii 55.  
**ῥε-ωλερ**: περιφορά *G* ii 34. — **ῥε**: στροφή *VC* 84 (*bis*).  
 διατριβή *VC* 19. — **ῥε**: στροφή *E* ii 55(†). — **πλεῖς**: στροφή  
*VC* 80. — **ῥε**: διάγω *G* iv 33. στρέφομαι *E* ii 50.  
**ῥε-ωλεῖς**: μνησικακῶ *G* iv 193.  
**ῥε**: ἔλεος *E* ii 10.  
**ῥε**: κολακεία *VC* 37.  
**ῥε**: ἄρτιος *E* ii 26. — **ωλερ**: instr.: σὺ φρόνως *G* iv 204.  
**ῥε**, **ῥε**: τις, τινές *plerumque*. pl.: ἔνιοι c. 10 *exx.* **ῥε**  
 . . . **ῥε**: οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δέ c. 5 *exx.*  
**νη**: οὐ, μή *plerumque*. **ῥε**: οὐδέν, μηδέν c. 20 *exx.* **ελε**: οὐδέ  
 c. 5 *exx.* **νη** **ελε**: οὐδέ c. 5 *exx.* misc. in combination.  
**ῥε** **ῥε**: (-)ίστημι *VC* 5 *exx.*  
**ῥε**: ὅς, ἡ *plerumque*. ὅσπερ c. 10 *exx.* cf. **ῥε**, **ῥε**, **ῥε**, **ῥε**.  
**ῥε**: ποιότης *VC* 4.

- νηρη**: υἱός 8 exx. τέκνον 3 exx. ἔγγονος *E* ii 3.  
**νηρη-εἰς**: κρίνω *G* iv 211(†). ἀποκρίνω *VC* 32(†). διανέμω *VC* 69(†). —**νηδύν**: εἰσκρισις *VC* 67.  
**νηρῶν**: ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν *E* ii 16. **νηρῶν** *η* *η*: οἷα τῷ δοκεῖν *G* iv 172.  
**νηρῶν**: ὥς c. 20 exx. ὥσπερ 6 exx. καθάπερ 3 exx. misc. 5 exx. **η**: ὅπως 3 exx. ὥς *VC* 50.  
**νηρῶν**: ὀρθός *G* i 64, *E* ii 3, 13. **μῶν**: ὀρθὸς λόγος *VC* 74. **νηρῶν**: κατορθῶ *VC* 64.  
**νηρῶν-ἀνδρῶν**: ὀρθογώνιος *VC* 65. —**εἰς**: κατορθῶ *G* iv 198, 228. —**νηρῶν**: ἐπανόρθωσις *E* ii 10. κατόρθωμα *G* i 65.  
**νηρῶν**: κενός *E* ii 68, *VC* 55 (*bis*). —**νηρῶν**: (τὸ) κενόν *G* iv 30.  
**νηρῶν**: ἔχω c. 25 exx. misc. in combination.  
**νηρῶν-νηρῶν**: ἀκρόασις *E* ii 13, *VC* 79, 80\*.  
**νηρῶν-ἀνδρῶν**: μανθάνω 10 exx. —**νηρῶν**: μάθημα *E* ii 18. μάθησις *G* ii 54. —**νηρῶν**: διδάσκω *G* iv 104. ἀναδιδάσκω *E* ii 18.  
**νηρῶν**: εὐφραίνομαι *VC* 35. —**νηρῶν**: εὐφροσύνη *VC* 46.  
**νηρῶν**: κακός 6 exx. φαῦλος 4 exx. μοχθηρός *G* iv 211. πονηρός *G* ii 54. —**νηρῶν-νηρῶν**: instr.: κακοτέχνως *VC* 42. —**η**: κακία *G* ii 54. (τὸ) κακόν *G* iii 7. —**νηρῶν**: κακία 6 exx. —**νηρῶν**: κάκωσις *E* ii 2. —**νηρῶν**: κακῶ *E* ii 2, 3.  
**νηρῶν**: μέτρον *VC* 80, 84. συμμετρία *G* iv 102. —**νηρῶν**, —**νηρῶν**: μετρίωτερος *VC* 45, 56(†). —**νηρῶν**: μετρίως *E* ii 25. —**εἰς**: διαμετρῶ *E* ii 25, *VC* 80. μετρῶ *E* ii 28.  
**νηρῶν**: διατηρῶ *E* ii 37, *VC* 33. φυλάττω *G* ii 15, *E* ii 19. διαφυλάττω *VC* 68. misc. in combination.  
**νηρῶν**: θρέμμα *E* i 19, *VC* 14, 36, 74.  
**νηρῶν-ἀνδρῶν**: θεραπευτής *VC* 22, 88, 90. διακονικός *VC* 50. —**εἰς**: ὑπηρετῶ *VC* 71, 72. —**νηρῶν**: ὑπουργία *VC* 72(†). ὑπηρεσία *VC* 75. λειτουργία *VC* 82. διακονία *VC* 70\*(†).  
**νηρῶν**: συντυχία *G* iv 204.  
**νηρῶν**: παῖς 3 exx. νέος *VC* 72.  
**νηρῶν**: λόγιον *VC* 25.  
**νηρῶν**: πόλεμος 3 exx. **νηρῶν**: πολεμῶ *G* iv 206.  
**νηρῶν**: τιμωρία 4 exx. δίκαι *G* i 77. **νηρῶν**: τιμωροῦμαι *G* iv 52.  
**νηρῶν**: τιμή 5 exx. γέρας 4 exx.  
**νηρῶν**: αἰδώς *VC* 33, 81.  
**νηρῶν**: αἰτία, αἴτιος 13 exx. πρότασις *G* ii 54. πρόφασις *VC* 66. **νηρῶν** —**νηρῶν**: ὑπαίτιος *G* iv 198 (*bis*).

ἡνωμένη-ἐς: εἰσρηγούμαι *G* iv 30, *E* ii 18. διαγγέλλω *G* ii 34. —*ῥι*:  
 εἰσρηγητής *G* i 20. —*οὐκ ῥι*: δόγμα *E* ii 37. ἐξήγησις *VC* 78.  
 πραγματεία *VC* 1. ὑφίγησις *G* ii 54, *VC* 64(†).

պատշաճեմ: արմօտա E ii 17 (†), 64.

ψωυπη-ωγηή: ἐντιμότητος VC 83. —ωλῶν: τίμος 4 exx. τιμαλ-  
φέστερος VC 49. —εὐ: τιμῶ E ii 21, VC 3.

պատուհաս. cf. պատիժ.

ψηλωτη-ψηλ: ἀπάτη *G* iv 228 (†), *E* ii 9 (†). — *εὐ*: φενακίζω *G* iv 202. δελεάζω *VC* 18.

**ψηφισμα:** σχολή G iv 47.

ψωρη: ἀπλοῦς VC 65. —ωρη: ἀπλούστερος Gi 77 (bis). —τατος  
VC 82. εὐλικρινέστερος VC 2(†).

υπαρκτός: σεμνός 4 exx. (†). —πλεῖς: σεμνότης VC 66. instr.:  
σεμνῶς G iv 40 (†).

ψαυρω(τ): δεῖ 10 exx. χρή 5 exx. (2 exx. + ψρτων). misc. 3  
exx. —ωληρ: ἐνοχος G iii 52. ὑπαίτιος G iv 228.

υψιμα: χρεία G i 92, VC 7, 25, 71. ζ: δεῖ G iv 69.

υβηδ: ἀντερός E ii 14.

αἰτή-αἰτήσις: χρεώδης G i 17, VC 38. χρήσιμος VC 37. —ή: δει E ii 68. —η, ἡ: χρεῖαι G iv 167. χρήσις G iv 76.

μῆδ-εῖδ: μαίνω E ii 1. — πλῆλῆ: ἄγος G i 77.

26pδ: θερμός VC 73.

Զրապինդ: առնել: νευροσπαστῶ G i 24.

*guguf*: ἀπαλείβω G i 93, ii 15 (*bis*).

*g*<sub>нлр</sub>:  $\bar{v}\delta\omega\rho$  8 exx.

ἄρ-ω/ήν: ἔνδρος VC 8, 54. —ἑη/ή: κατακλυσμός G ii 54, 64.

μω: οὗτος *plerumque* (opp. ἐκεῖνος 2 exx.).

σοληωγῆς: καίτοι G ii 54. ρωγῆς: ὁμως VC 1, 58. ἀλλ' οὖν VC 69.  
οὐ μὴν ἀλλά G ii 59.

*ωλιωι-ωη-δρ*: πρὸς ὀλίγον 2 exx. κατ' ὀλίγον E ii 25. *ιωηωλ-δρ*: πρὸ μικροῦ 5 exx. *ιευ-δρ*: μικρὸν ὕστερον 2 exx. *δρ*: μικρόν 2 exx. —*ωτωωδιωλιωι*: ἐπίκαιρος G iv 43\*. ὀλιγοχρόνιος G iv 166. —*ωωρηωηωβηλ*: ὀλιγόδεια C iv 172.

υωλην: περί w. gen. VC 1. ἔνεκα VC 17.

սահման : ὁρος E ii 64. —Էմ : ὁρίζω VC 17(†).

—*κωι*<sup>1</sup>*η*<sup>2</sup>*λ*<sup>3</sup>: κολάζω *G* i 89. —*η*<sup>2</sup>*ζ*: κολαστήριος *E* ii 68 (*ter*).  
 —*η*<sup>2</sup>*γ*: κολαστήριος *E* ii 68 (*bis*). —*η*<sup>2</sup>*λ*<sup>3</sup>*υ*: κόλασις *G* iv 51.  
 πανωλεθρία *VC* 86.

μαρτυροῦν: διάκονος VC 75.

μὲλῶν: τράπεζα (of Therapeuts) VC 3 exx. ἱλαστήριον E ii 64.



- υερισῶν-ωλῶν**: σπερματικός *E* ii 68. — **εῖς**: σπείρω 5 *exx.* καταβάλλω (σπέρμα) *VC* 62.
- υερισῶν**: σπέρμα *G* ii 15, *E* ii 64, *VC* 62. σπορά *E* ii 19.
- υξρ**: φίλια *G* i 17 (*bis*), *E* ii 68, *VC* 90. ἀγάπη *E* ii 21 (*bis*).
- υῖρ-εῖρ**: ἀγαπητός *E* ii 67. — **εἰς**: φίλος *G* i 17. — **εῖς**: ἀγαπῶ 6 *exx.* ἀσπάζομαι *E* ii 99.
- υῖρ**: καρδιά *E* ii 50.
- υλγρῶν-ωζωρ**: ἀρχέκακος *VC* 70. — **ωσρ**: ἀρχέτυπος *VC* 29. — **ωλ** (?): ἀρχαῖος *VC* 80. — **εἰς**: ἀρχεγονώτερος *VC* 2.
- υλγρῶν**: ἀρχή 13 *exx.*
- υλ-ωλ**: τρέφω *VC* 18. — **εἰς**: θρεπτικός *G* ii 59. — **εἰς**: τροφή *VC* 9.
- υλ**: συνήθης *VC* 41. — **ωλ**: συνήθης *VC* 18, 89. — **εῖς**: εἶθα *VC* 27. — **εἰς**: ἔθος 6 *exx.* ἥθος (?) *VC* 20, 57.
- υλ**: ψεῦδος 6 *exx.*
- υλ**: ὀξύς *VC* 88.
- υλ**: ἅγιος *E* ii 68, *VC* 81. ἄγνος *VC* 65(†). ἱερός *VC* 71(†), 83(†). **υλ** (†) **εἰς**: ἱερὸν γράμμα *E* ii 62, *VC* 75, 78.
- υλ-ωλ**: φονῶ *G* ii 12. — **εἰς**: φόνος *VC* 43\*. — **εἰς**: φόνος *G* iii 52.
- υλ**: ὑπηρεσία *VC* 50, 75(†). **ωλ**: ὑπηρετῶ *VC* 7. **εἰς**: λατρεύω *E* ii 105. **εἰς**: διακονοῦμαι *VC* 70(†). — **ωλ**: ὑπηρετής *G* ii 34. δορυφόρος *E* ii 67. — **εἰς**: ὑπηρεσία *G* i 94, *VC* 52, 66. διακονία *G* iv 88. ὑπουργία *VC* 72(†). δουλεία *VC* 9\*.
- υλ**: κτήμα *E* ii 64, *VC* 16(†). κτήσις *VC* 70. **ωλ**: περιουσία *G* iv 172, *VC* 16\*, 39. — **εἰς**: περιουῶ *G* iv 172.
- υλ**: διαπλάζω *G* i 51. — **εἰς**: πλᾶσμα *VC* 63.
- υλ**: ψεύδομαι *G* iv 204.
- υλ**: συνεχής *G* iv 99, *VC* 36.
- υλ**: σαφῶς *G* iv 172.
- υλ**: τηλαυγῶς *G* iii 3(†). — **εἰς**: ἀκριβέστερος *VC* 75(†). — **ωλ**: ἐτίμως *VC* 2. — **εῖς**: ἀκριβῶς *VC* 14\*. — **εἰς**: ἀκρίβεια *G* ii 54, *VC* 31, 49\*(†).
- υλ**: ψεῦδος *VC* 39.
- υλ-εἰς**: ὀξυνωπία *VC* 89. — **εἰς**: ὀξυδερκής *G* ii 34, *VC* 61\*. **εἰς**: ὀξυδορκῶ *VC* 75.
- υλ**: εἰαγῶς *VC* 6. — **εἰς**: καθαρώτατος *E* ii 45. ἀγώτατος *VC* 65. ἱερώτατος *VC* 64. — **ωλ**: καθαρῶς *G* iv 204. — **εἰς**: ἀγνεία *VC* 68(†).

**μεινυζβλ-αηηγν**: θαυμασιώτερος VC 16. — **αηηηρδ**: θαυματοποιός VC 58. — **ι**: εξαίσιος VC 78.

**ιωμδανιρ**: τελευτῶ E ii 26, VC 13(†).

**ιωηιωη-αλρ**: **ανηξν** —: εὐθύς 4 exx. αὐτίκα E ii 40. — **ηηη**: ἀπερίσκεπτος G ii 72.

**ιωμβλ-εμ**: προσήκω VC 56. — **νλν**: θεοπρεπής E ii 66. προσήκων VC 82(†). — **ζαλμν**: πρέπων VC 30, 33. προσήκων VC 80.

**ιωηρ**: **ι** **δρ** — **εμ**, **εηανιρ**: συνέρχομαι 10 exx. **ηξρμ** —: οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ E ii 21. — **ωμωρ**: ἀπὸ σκοποῦ E i 19. ἄτοπος G i 20(†). — **ενωηηγν**: ἀγριώτατος VC 8. — **ενρ**: ἀτίθασος VC 9.

**ιων**: διὰ w. acc. c. 15 exx. misc. 5 exx. **ηηηγ**: ὅθεν 4 exx. διὸ 2 exx. misc. 4 exx.

**ιων ηρ**: ἐπειδὴ 15 exx. ὅτι 3 exx. misc. 4 exx.

**ιωηηωλ**: πόνος VC 35.

**ιωηθωρ**: φαῦλος G ii 12, 68, iv 47, 166, 172, 211.

**ιωρ**: **ωρλμν**: χρῶμαι E i 6. + **γωρδωλ**: καταχρῶμαι E ii 6. **ι** — **ωλν**: ἐπιτηδεύω G iv 204. — **ωλνρ**: βιώ VC 74. — **ων**: διαπόρησις VC 77(†). — **ωνεωλ**: ἄπορος VC 14.

**ιωρηωμ**: διδάσκαλος G iv 104, E ii 16. — **νλρμν**: διδασκαλία: G ii 54 (bis), iv 102, E ii 25, VC 76.

**ιωρδ**: ἄσκησις VC 28(†), 41(†), 52\*. — **ρμ**: ἀσκῶ VC 39.

**ιωρρ**: χρῶμαι 10 exx.

**ιωρ(ε)**: διαγωγή VC 40. **εμν** — **νγ**: βίος 5 exx.

**ιλν**: κρείττων VC 82. — **αηηγν**: κρείττων G ii 62.

**ιερ**: ἀνα- 3 exx. **ι** —: ὑπέρ w. acc. G ii 62. **δρδ**: μείζων VC 87. — **αηηγν**: ἀνωτέρω G ii 34, E ii 68. ἱερώτατος (?) E ii 46. — **ωρμωρδ**: μετεωρίζομαι VC 3. ὑπερέχω VC 69.

**ιερωγ**: **ι** —: ἐπὶ w. gen. 7 exx. ἐπὶ w. dat. 5 exx. ἐπὶ w. acc. G iv 202. ἐπι- 6 exx. κατὰ w. gen. G 2 exx. κρείττων G ii 34, VC 14.

**ιερρ**: ἄνω E ii 3, 65. ἄκρος VC 72.

**ιερν-αηηγν**: ἀνώτατος G i 55, ii 62\*, E ii 64. — **ωγν**: ἀνώτατος VC 66(†).

**ιερηγ**: **ερ** **ι** —: ὑπέρ E ii 68, VC 22. ὑπεράνω E ii 68 (bis).

**ιερηηηη**: **ι** —: ἄνωθεν E ii 68 (bis).

**ιερλμν**: ὑστερίζω G ii 72, E ii 26 (bis), VC 76.

**ιερηηρ**: ἄνωθεν (temporal) E ii 68. ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς E i 7.

**ιερμωλ**: ἐξᾶς E ii 46 (bis).

**ιρδωλ**: κλήρος G i 51.

**ιλημ-εμ**: μαρτυρῶ E ii 9. — **νλρμν**: μαρτύριον E ii 68.

**ψδωρεδ**: ἀνύω *E* ii 26.

**ψνωυ**: βλάβη *G* iv 172, *E* ii 25. (τὸ) βλάπτειν *G* iv 193. ζημία *G* iv 227, *E* ii 9. **ωνυεδ**: βλάπτω *E* ii 18. **ηρεδ**: βλάπτομαι *G* iv 91. **ηερδεδ**: ζημῶ *VC* 61. — **ωλωρ**: βλαβερός *VC* 20. ἐπίβουλος *VC* 37. — **εδ**: βλάπτω *G* ii 15. ζημῶ *G* iv 172.

**ηρηυεδ**: διαμαρτάνω *E* ii 13. ἀποτυγχάνω *VC* 61. **ηξ** —: εὐστοχῶ *E* ii 24.

**ωωδωρ**: πρόναος *VC* 81.

**ωωδ**: misc. in combination.

**ωωνυηδ**: κομίζω 2 exx. ἄγω *VC* 11. misc. in combination 5 exx.

**ωωνυη-ωνηε**: κόλασις *G* iv 40 (†). — **εδ**: κολάζω *G* iv 52.

**ωωρωληηηυ**: ἀπορον *E* ii 2. διαπόρησις *VC* 77 (†).

**ωωρωηηηηηωλη**: παραδειγματικός *G* ii 34\*.

**ωωρη**: στοιχεῖον *VC* 3, 4.

**ωηξυ**: ιδιώτης *G* iv 69, 76.

**ωηη-ωωρη**: τοπικός *E* ii 45. — **η**: τόπος *G* ii 59, *E* i 19. — **η ωωδ**: ἀναχωρῶ *G* iv 204. παραχωρῶ *VC* 13. εἶκω *E* ii 37.

**ωεω-ωη**: ἰδέα 8 exx. εἶδος *G* ii 34, *VC* 38, 49. **ωεωωνυεδ**: φαντασιούμαι *VC* 26. — **ωηων**: θεωρητικός *VC* 11 (?), 58, 67. ὁρατικός *E* ii 46. — **ωηεδ**: ὀρῶ κτλ. c. 10 exx. θεῶμαι 6 exx. θεωρῶ *VC* 4 exx. καθορῶ *VC* 66. καταθεῶμαι *G* ii 72 (†). κατανοῶ *E* ii 66. **ωωωηωηηη** —: προεῖδον *VC* 15. — **ωρηων**: θέατρον *G* iv 204. ὄρασις *G* ii 34. — **ηη**: εἶδος *E* ii 47. θεώρημα *G* iv 47. ἰδέα *G* i 92. θέα *VC* 66. — **ηη**: ὀρῶν 2 exx. θεώμενος 2 exx. θεάτης *VC* 42. βλέπων *VC* 13. — **ηηηηηη**: θεωρία *G* ii 72, *VC* 1, 12 (?), 64, 90. **ωωρηωηηε** — **ων**: ἀσκησις *VC* 28. — **ηηων**: θέα *VC* 11.

**ωηρη**: δεσπότης *G* iv 206, *VC* 9, 19. κύριος *E* ii 62, 68. κύρος *E* ii 62. — **ηηηων**: ἱερός *VC* 2, 25, 28, 71 (†), 81. **ηηρη**: ἱερὸν γράμμα *VC* 75 (†), 78 (†).

**ωηη** — **ηω ωηωηηη**: μάλλον δέ *GE* 3 exx.

**ωηη**: τύπος *G* ii 62, iv 99.

**ωηρη-ωωωνηεδ**: κυριολογῶ *G* ii 54. — **ωηηη**: κυριώτατος *G* ii 59. — **εδ**: δεσπόζω *E* ii 105.

**ωηε**: ἡλικία *G* iv 88.

**ωηωρ**: ἀσθενής *G* ii 54. — **ωηηη**: ἀσθενέστερος *VC* 70. — **ηηηηηη**: ἀσθένεια *G* iv 180.

**ωηηηωηηη**: ἐμφύλιος *G* iii 7.

**ωηηηη**: φντόν *VC* 3.

**ωηωωηηηηη**: διατυπῶ *G* i 21.

**ωηηη-ωδ**: ἐρῶμαι *VC* 61. — **ωνηε**: ἔρωσ *VC* 12, 59 (*bis*), 60. — **ηηηηωη**: ἐρώμενος *VC* 61 (*bis*). — **ηη**: ἐραστής *VC* 61.

ῥωσις-ωσις: ὀλιγωρία VC 16. —εψ: καταφρονῶ E ii 14, VC 63(†). ὀλιγωρῶ G iii 53. ἀλογῶ VC 68.

**φῶν**: ἧ or gen. compar. c. 20 exx. **ὠφῶ** **φῶν**: πρίν w. inf. *E* i 7.  
cf. **ωπῶ** **ωφῶ**.

**φῶν** **φῶν**: γάρ c. 100 exx. μέν 4 exx. μὲν γάρ *VC* 4 exx. μὲν οὖν  
3 exx. δέ (transitional) 4 exx. misc. 3 exx.

**φῶν**: ἀγαθός *E* ii 25. ἄριστος *G* iv 102. εὖ- *G* iv 43. — **ωφῶ** **ωφῶ** **ωφῶ**:  
**καλοκαγαθία** *VC* 72, 90(?). εὐδαιμονία *VC* 90.  
— **ωφῶ** **ωφῶ**: εὐνομος *E* ii 64, *VC* 19\*. — **ωφῶ** **ωφῶ**: **καλοκαγαθία**  
*G* i 85, *VC* 90.

**φῶν** **φῶν**: ποιητής (poet) *VC* 1, 40, 58, 80.

**φῶν** **φῶν**: περισκεπτία *VC* 14(†).

**φῶν**: ἵπνος *G* i 24, *VC* 45.

**φῶν**: ἱερὺς *VC* 68.

## BRIEF NOTE

### *Additional notes on the Ras Shamra texts.*

My first references are to my paper above, pp. 97 ff.

To p. 99: חַפַּט = Heb. שָׁפַט (cf. Bauer, p. 39; Albright, p. 108). In SARab. occurs equally the verb חַפַּט of the decree of a deity; see Rhodokanakis, *Katabanische Texte*, (I, 1919), p. 57, line 8; 121, line 7; 130, line 5; some of these texts are given by Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis* (1931), who in his Glossary identifies the root with Heb. שָׁפַט.

To p. 103: חֵירָאֵל. Cf. possibly SARab. חֵירָ בַעֲלָם, epithet of the Sabaean deity Alamaḡah, = "Bull of Baal" (?). The epithet occurs in CIS iv, 409:2 581:4, Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *Himyarische Inschriften* (1932), no. 21:12, etc.

To p. 111, Ai 9. For חַדְבֵּר as from root בָּרַר cf. SARab. (Minaean) form IV, סִבְרַר "do an act of piety": see conveniently references in Rossini, Glossary, p. 119.

To p. 112: צִרְרָה. Cf. the reference in Esarhaddon's Prism B, line 16 to "(šadu) sirara (šadu) labnana", i. e. "the mountains Sirar and Lebanon", in which the first name is probably our word.

To p. 120 f. In connection with the *Hieros Gamos* Prof. H. Frankfort has reported the remarkable find of a plaque representing the rite, brilliantly interpreted by him; he will publish it shortly, I understand, in the forthcoming first number of the new journal *'Iraq*, to be published by the Gertrude Bell Memorial Fund.

At A vi 18: בַּחֵן = "viper." See Albright, p. 205, n. 109, comparing the Arabic equivalent *baṭan*, "which has been borrowed by biblical Hebrew as *peten*." But the root *ptn* has its own ancient history. All Arabists know the classical word *fitnah*, generally translated "revolt, rebellion," etc. Some years ago in reading Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ I came to realize that the root meant primarily "fascinate"; for rebellion against orthodoxy, like "all false doctrine, heresy and schism," is the result of devilish fascination: and I found that this is one of the secondary meanings given by Poole and other lexicographers. Now this throws light upon the otherwise unexplained Heb. *peten*; it means "facination, fascinator", proper epithet for the viper. As a theological postscript it may be

added that "the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan" (Rev. 20:2) is primarily the Fascinator.

At B viii 12 ff. I would now correct my acceptance of Vir.'s correction.  $\text{hh}'\text{r}\text{s}$  must mean 'the land  $\text{Hh}$ ', with postpositive 'land' as in Akkadian and Aramaic. This is borne out by the several similar phrases in lines 4-9;  $\text{z}\text{s}\text{r}'\text{r}\text{s}$  (i. e. Zinzar, see at p. 102),  $\text{bt}\text{h}\text{p}\text{t}\text{t}'\text{r}\text{s}$  (i. e. Bit  $\text{H}$ ., cf. Vir.'s note, xii, 224),  $\text{rdm}'\text{r}\text{s}$ . Now the  $\text{H}\text{h}\text{u}$  are a well known North Syrian people (see S. Smith, *History of Assyria*, 99, 161, 163). And for their geographical identification I propose the site  $\text{H}\text{h}$  in the Tur Abdin country north of Nisibin, a place of which Miss Gertrude Bell has given a charming description in her *Amurath to Amurath*, pp. 317 ff.

In my note on recent literature, p. 97, I failed through ignorance to cite two important articles by M. Dussaud: "La mythologie Phénicienne d'après les Tablettes de Ras Shamra," *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1931, 353-408; "La Sanctuaire et les Dieux Phéniciens de Ras Shamra," *ibid.*, 1932, 245-302. I find he has anticipated me in precisising the genii  $\text{כֹּהֵר}$  and  $\text{סֹסֵר}$ .

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*Ancient Gaza I. Tell el-Ajjûl* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt, vol. LIII). By FLINDERS PETRIE, Kt. London: QUARITCH, 1931. Pp. vii + 15 and LXII plates.

In the quarto volume before us, Sir Flinders Petrie has been true to his custom of promptness in publishing the results of his excavations. Work was begun at this important site in late December, 1930, and the volume describing the first campaign is published less than a year and a half later (Petrie's books generally appear some months after the date of publication). Since the publication of this volume another one has been published, and Sir Flinders has completed three campaigns of excavation. Though restricting ourselves to consideration of this first report, we will bear subsequent discoveries at Tell el-'Ajûl (so, Arabic pronunciation now A'jûl) and elsewhere in mind in preparing this review. The reviewer has just completed the MS of a study, *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim I A: The Bronze Age Pottery of the Fourth Campaign* (*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Vol. XIII), in which he deals at length with the synchronisms between the two sites. To avoid detail we shall refer the student to the corresponding sections of this monograph.

The work shows the well-known qualities of Petrie's publications, his wide knowledge and experience, his instinctive grasp of the significance of details, and his rapid but inclusive method of recording and publishing objects. On the other hand it exhibits the failings of his genius: hasty generalization, lack of specialized knowledge of ancillary fields in which he passes judgment, complete indifference to the work and the results of other archaeologists, inadequate and often inaccurate drawings of pottery, architecturally insufficient plans. However, when we bear in mind that Petrie was the pioneer in many branches of modern archaeological method, and that his hasty publications are superior to the carefully prepared and long delayed publications of a good many others, we will not take a censorious attitude, but will be profoundly grateful for each new illustration of the monumental industry of an archaeological genius, who stands alone today, both in the value of his



pioneer work and in the extraordinary quantity of excavation and publication which he has accomplished. How many men would still be able to engage in active direction of an excavation in their eightieth year?

The site of Tell el-'Ajûl lies some four miles southwest of modern Gaza, near the ancient high-road from Asia to Egypt, and not far from the sea. The area of the site is exceptionally large, reflecting the great importance of the town in the Hyksos Age, when it was a vital link in the chain of cities and fortresses which bound together the two halves of the Hyksos empire Egypt and Palestine-Syria. At the Egyptian end of the desert road lay the Hyksos capital, Avaris, the exact location of which is not yet known (the current identifications with Pelusium and with Tanis being neither quite satisfactory); at the Asiatic end lay Tell el-'Ajûl. Whether Petrie is right or not in believing that Tell el-'Ajûl was the precursor of Gaza, which was only founded after the decline of the former, must remain uncertain for the present. It is hardly probable, since Tell el-'Ajûl seems to have existed as an important city only in the last part of the Middle Empire and the subsequent Hyksos age, while Gaza seems to have a history stretching back into the Early Bronze Age. It seems, therefore, likely that Tell el-'Ajûl owed its great expansion solely to the Hyksos movement and to the Egypto-Asiatic empire which the invaders erected.

The chronology proposed by Petrie is based on his revision of the long chronology which he has so long maintained. It is curious to note that the revision, which lops a millennium from the date of Menes, is the results of Petrie's observations at Tell el-Fâr'ah (probably Sharuhên) in southern Palestine, which yielded the materials for a sequence-dating of the scarabs and pottery of the Second Intermediate Age in Egypt, hitherto unavailable from Egyptian sources. Only three Hyksos cemeteries are now known in Egypt, and not a single passably well preserved Hyksos-occupied area has been excavated! Hence the great significance of Tell el-'Ajûl, despite the fact that the houses have almost all proved to be empty, so that few objects have been discovered. The short chronology of Borchardt, Eduard Meyer, Breasted, and Weill (to mention only those who have helped to establish it), based on astronomical and calendaric considerations, allows only two centuries for the period between the end of Dyn. XII and the beginning of Dyn. XVIII (the Second Intermediate Age), whereas Petrie's reduced

chronology requires eight centuries. It is clear to all Palestinian and Aegean archaeologists, accustomed to work with stratified sites (which have hardly been touched in Egypt up to the present, partly because of their non-availability and partly because of their lack of promise of sensational discoveries), that the low chronology is correct. The definitive proof has now been brought by Borchardt, who first demonstrated its probability, thanks to his discovery of a stele containing a genealogy of a Memphite priestly family extending backward for sixty generations. Since the name of the contemporary Pharaoh is given in twenty-six cases, the importance of the new check is evident. Between the death of Sesostri III (cir. 1845) and the accession of Amosis I (cir. 1575) eleven generations are recorded. If we employ the low chronological theory, each generation would last about twenty-four years, on the average, a duration greater than that of the average generation for the entire period covered by the genealogy.

Petrie's "Copper Age" is in reality synchronous with an early stage of our I-H period at Tell Beit Mirsim, and must be dated to about the twentieth century B. C. (the beginning of Middle Bronze I); cf. the material given by the reviewer in his monograph cited above, § 12. The following Canaanite period, which runs parallel for the most part with the Hyksos occupation, actually belongs to the period between the eighteenth and the fifteenth century. In the second campaign Petrie excavated five superimposed palace areas, on which he now bases his chronological statement (cf. *Ancient Gaza II*, p. viii). For convenience we may give his dates and our revised chronology: Palace I, Petrie's date cir. 3200, ours 19th-18th century; Palace II, Petrie cir. 2500, our date cir. 1700; Palace III, Petrie cir. 2400, our date 17th century; Palace IV, Petrie cir. 2100, our date 16th century; Palace V, Petrie cir. 1500, which is probably correct.

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*Caravan Cities.* By M. ROSTOVITZ, translated by D. and T. TALBOT RICE. Oxford: CLARENDON PRESS. 1932. Pp. xiv, 232; 35 plates, 6 figs., 5 maps and plans.

This is a fascinating volume which all can enjoy. It should turn the intelligent citizen into a tourist, and from tourist into con-

noisseur of the still mysterious borders of the Roman empire facing upon the Arabian desert, no longer inaccessible with motor-car and air-plane. Charming in its style—for which due credit should also be given to the translators—it introduces the reader in picturesque fashion to the domains of learned archaeology. To the scholar it comes with the authority of its distinguished author; he will be instructed by the admirable exposition of the historical panorama of Petra, Jerash, Palmyra and Dura-Europus, as equally by the details of the pictures, illuminated as they are by the author's command of history and his personal observation and participation in the uncovering of those ancient capitals. Chapter I presents an Historical Survey of the Caravan Trade; it gives a compact and telling description of the successive rise of the cities in dependence upon the various fluctuations of international politics and commerce from the times of the early cultures through the Empires down to the Byzantine age. There appears an historic logic in the succession of all-Arab Petra, Hellenic Jerash, then again Palmyra reverting to Oriental norm and playing at empire, and finally provincial but quite cosmopolitan Dura, one of the furthest outposts of Rome, to fall at last into the Parthian lap. The following chapters deal with the several cities, and of these Dura claims the greatest extent of notice, as the subject is the most novel of all, little known outside of learned volumes. The author himself participated in the excavations conducted by Yale and the French Academy of Inscriptions at this point in 1928 and 1930, and he communicates to the reader the thrill of personal discovery and interpretation. The illustrations are capitally chosen and executed. At the end of the volume is given a Bibliography for the several chapters, a most useful compendium. The book is altogether an admirable introduction into a field of ancient history too little known not only by Western historians but even by students of the Levant; for the faces of the latter are naturally turned to the West, whereas the Levant, to use George Adam Smith's word about Jerusalem, always faces the East, at least is inevitably confronted by it. For Tadmor (Palmyra) there might have been noticed Dhorme's recent reading of the name in an Akkadian text of 1000 B. C. On p. 65 'gulf of Elan' should be 'Elanitic gulf', so relating it to Aila, p. 27, etc.

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*Vorislamische Altertümer* von CARL RATHJENS und HERMANN v. WISSMANN: *Rathjens- u. Wissmannsche Südarabien-Reise*, Band 2. *Hamburgische Universität, Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde*, Band 38. Hamburg: FRIEDERICHSEN, DE GRUYTER & Co., 1932. Pp. xvi? 212; photographs 167; figs. 150; 3 folding maps.

In this handsome volume Messrs. Rathjens and v. Wissmann present the report of their archaeological campaign in the Yemen in 1927-28. Volume 1, edited by Professors Mordtmann and Mittwoch (reviewed in this JOURNAL, 1932, 194 ff.) published the Sabaeen inscriptions discovered in that campaign. The present authors may well be proud of themselves for conducting the first excavations in South Arabia, and they merit the congratulations of all scholars. They have broken the ice—if such a metaphor may be used of Arabia—under political circumstances that are favorable to certain foreign nations, as the Imam of the Yemen, girt about by British Aden and the Arab kingdom of Ibn Saúd is desirous of establishing other international relationships that may be more friendly. The explorers, as their interesting *Reisebericht* tells, landed first at Jedda, hoping to pursue explorations in the Hijaz; but they found the land still taboo to the foreigner. So they proceeded to the Yemen, where the Imam gave them a friendly welcome and showed a lively interest in their plans, at times to their embarrassment, as he desired to direct operations. They were unable to proceed to the classical Jof on the usual account of insecurity, and so confined themselves to points to the north and northeast of Sanaá. They carried out a considerable excavation at Hugga, the most important result of which was the exposure of a temple (pp. 61 ff.); the details are carefully studied, with photographs and reconstructions, along with comparison with similar temples in Arabia, Abyssinia and South Africa, as also with the early pillared mosques of Islam. The reconstruction is not unlike what we devise for Solomon's temple, and like the latter it faces the east, differing in this respect from other known South-Arabian temples. Part of the exploration was made in the neighborhood of ancient Shibám to the northeast of Sanaá. In addition to the careful study of all the finds—a number of which are the property of a native prince—there are many observations of great interest. Especially is to be noted the chapter on pre-Islamic Cisterns, pp.

144-157. The authors observe that the territories of the ancient centres of culture, Márib, Maín, etc., are now "sowohl kulturell wie wirtschaftlich verwahrlost" (p. 144), and they proceed to remark that this is to be attributed not to change of climate but to the abandonment of the ancient intensive exploitation and economy of the natural water-supply. This appears to be the general opinion of Arabian explorers as over against quite prevalent theories of alternating periods of wet and dry reaching even into historic times. The masterly volume refreshes our hopes for ever-increasing scientific knowledge of that land of mystery.

There may be noted here, as of the same series of *Abhandlungen*, vol. 31, the very timely volume by E. Topf, *Die Staatenbildung in den arab. Teilen der Türkei seit dem Weltkriege nach Entstehung, Bedeutung und Lebensfähigkeit*. The recent history and politics of these several new states are fully described, and an Appendix, pp. 145-252, presents all the important diplomatic documents, mandates, treaties and constitutions between 1922 and 1927.

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*Gott und Hölle*. By JOSEF KROLL. Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, Vol. XX. Leipzig: TEUBNER, 1932. Pp. 569, octavo. Price 25 Mks.

This is a massive *religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* into the "descent into Hell" motif in the thought of antiquity and of the middle ages. Beginning with the development of the *descensus* concept in ancient Christianity, eastern and western, and following the concept through to the mediaeval Passion and Easter Play, in which it found graphic expression, the study raises the question whence the fixed imagery of the Christian representations comes. At this point it turns to an examination of ancient parallels, a chapter each being devoted to the idea of the descent to the underworld in Egyptian, Babylonian, Indo-Persian, Jewish, later Oriental (Mandaean and Manichaeic), and Graeco-Roman religious thought. The answer given to the question raised may be stated somewhat as follows. The idea of the savior-god's victorious descent to the underworld plays no part in early Greek religion,

but is prominent in Babylonia and in Egypt (here possibly in partial dependence upon Babylonian thought). Brought to a new significance as the result of the impress of Iranian dualism upon the Orient, the idea was carried out of Babylonia westward, finding reception in later Judaism and in imperial Rome, whither it was carried by those concerned with the practice of magical arts. Christianity, with its conception of the death and resurrection of the savior, offered a fertile ground for its introduction, and here it flourished luxuriantly, in part as the result of analogous developments in Jewish thought, but for the most part as the result of pagan religious ideas.

One cannot but marvel at the erudition of this work; it is a treasure-house of information and covers so tremendous a territory that few will claim competence to criticize it effectively in all its parts. In general it will need to be admitted, I believe, that Kroll's fundamental thesis is correct. The picture of Christ's victorious descent into Hell is the work of Oriental imagination, and the colors with which it is painted are those of the Babylonian palette. There are two questions, however, which I am inclined to raise. The first concerns the supposed vitalization of the Babylonian concept by Iranian influence. In introducing this particular element into his hypothesis, Kroll is of course following the pattern laid down by Reitzenstein in his brilliant analyses. That Iran was a potent force in certain of the religious developments of the later Orient, particularly in the transformation of later Jewish religion and in the development of Manichaeism, can scarcely be doubted. Whether Iranian influence was as basic to the whole of the later religious development as he supposed, even those of us who are admirers and disciples of Reitzenstein may well begin to doubt, now that we have the benefit of a longer perspective upon his enterprise. Certainly it would appear to me that in the pattern of Kroll's hypothesis, the Iranian factor is not indispensable, particularly as he admits that it is difficult to define, and since he makes the *Chaldaioi* those who carried the *descensus* concept to the West.

My second question concerns the steps involved in the introduction of the *descensus* concept into primitive Christian thought. A great deal more should in my estimation be made in this connection of the descent as motivated in II Peter. The primary appeal

of the descent idea was, as Kroll correctly indicates, an emotional one. Yet it was scarcely the appeal of the triumphant universalism to which it later gave expression, but rather that contained in the solution it offered to the vexatious problem so rife in the minds of the first gentile Christians, Why were our parents and forebears not permitted to hear the message of salvation and eternal life? The savior's descent to the underworld for the purpose of preaching the gospel was the answer given to this question. The theodicy axiom was its ultimate basis. From this earlier form of the *de-sensus* idea the later forms, in which the purpose of the visit is to overthrow the kingdom of death, differ radically. It is at this point that the pagan influence begins to exert itself.

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MIZRAIM, *Journal of Papyrology, Egyptology, History of Ancient Laws, and their Relations to the Civilizations of Bible Lands.*

Edited by NATHANIEL JULIUS REICH. Vol. I, 1933, pp. 195 + 16 plates, G. E. STECHERT & Co., New York.

This new journal, as its subtitle indicates, is of comprehensive scope, but is devoted primarily to Egypt and its cultural influences in the Ancient Orient. *Mizraim* fills a long-felt need in Oriental scholarship, and Professor Reich is to be congratulated for having founded such an important publication. This volume contains seven articles, five of which come from the pen of the editor: *New Documents from the Serapeum of Memphis* (pp. 9-129; plates I-XIII); *A Demotic Divorcé* (pp. 135-139; plate XV); *A Hieroglyphic Stela from Mt. Serabit of the Sinai Peninsula* (pp. 144-146; plate XVI); *The τερβήσιος νιοί and their Quarrel with Apollo-nius* (pp. 147-177); *The Codification of the Egyptian Laws by Darius and the Origin of the "Demotic Chronicle"* (pp. 178-185). Two other American scholars have each contributed one article: Professor W. F. Albright, *A Set of Egyptian Playing Pieces and Dice from Palestine* (pp. 130-134; plate XIV); Professor Raymond P. Dougherty, *Têma's Place in the Egypto-Babylonian World of the Sixth Century B. C.* (pp. 140-143). Ten pages are devoted to the review of important books in the field covered by the journal.

*Mizraim* presents a very respectable appearance, measuring 23 cm.

by 29½ cm. It is beautifully printed and from the physical point of view is very attractive.

As can be judged from the titles of the various articles, the journal presents us with subjects from a wide range of knowledge. *Mizraim*, on account of the interesting material it contains, will appeal not only to the Egyptologist, but to all students of the civilization and culture of the Ancient Near East.

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*The Bandlet of Righteousness—an Ethiopian Book of the Dead—*

The Ethiopic Text of the *Lefâfa Şedek*—edited with an English Translation. By SIR E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. Pp. xvi + 140 with 67 plates, 1929. 21 shillings. London: LUZAC'S SEMITIC TEXT AND TRANSLATION SERIES, Vol. XIX.

For those who are interested in magic with special emphasis upon the potency of the various Divine names, this translation represents an interesting contribution. The *Lefâfa Şedek* is a book of magical texts which are a fusion of Christian and pagan elements. The author and the date of its first appearance are unknown. In its present form, according to Budge, it is probably not older than the sixteenth century. The *Lefâfa Şedek* was supposed to make a man pure and holy upon earth and to secure for the dead the preservation of their bodies, life beyond the grave, and entrance into heaven. While the work has a Christian veneer, it contains, according to Budge, in a succinct form the essential elements of the recension of the Book of the Dead which was in vogue in Egypt during the Graeco-Roman period; the editor finds also influences from the Gnostic and Hebrew apocryphal works.

The *Lefâfa Şedek* purports to have been written by the Father with His own hands before Christ was born of the Virgin Mary; the latter received it from her Son who gave her instructions for its use. To all intents and purposes this magico-religious text was supposed to serve the Abyssinian Christians with the same protection as did the Book of the Dead the ancient Egyptians. In his fourth chapter, Budge draws a number of interesting parallels between this work and the Egyptian Book of the Dead and establishes important connexions.

In the plates we have reproductions of two manuscripts, A and B. A, which is the basis of Budge's translation, is British Museum,



Add. 16, 204; B is also in the British Museum, Oriental 551, and according to Budge, was written in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

As regards the age of MS. A, Budge is not consistent. On page viii, he states that the older of the two MSS. (meaning A) dates from the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century. On page 15, however, he says that A is written in a good clear hand, probably of the first half of the seventeenth century.

The references in the translation to the text are confusing. The photo-lithographic plates representing MS. A are numbered from Fol. 1-a to Fol. 25-b. In his translation, Budge unfortunately has not followed this system, but the actual folio numbers of the MS. He begins his translation with a reference to Fol. 2a, which corresponds to Fol. 1-a in the plates. In order to compare the translation with the Ethiopic text of A, it is necessary in every case to subtract 1 from the folio numbers cited in the English version. It would have been far better to number the plates according to the folios of the original MS.

MS. B follows in the plates directly after MS. A, which concludes with Folio 25b. Ms. B begins with the plate numbered Folio 26b (there is no 26a) and continues to Folio 34b. This is a very unfortunate system. Why MS. B is added at all in the plates, is not apparent. In the translation no attempt has been made to correlate B with the English version either by folio numbers or in any foot-notes. Nor is any estimate of the value of B expressed. It is to be regretted that the author has not given us a critical text; if he wished to avoid expressing an opinion of Ms. B or the labour of noting its variations, he could at least have aided the student by correlating in a table the folios and sections of A and B. In this respect an important work has been left undone, and the publication lacks thoroughness and a scientific spirit.

The translation reproduces, in the main, the meaning of the original. On page 79, three lines from the bottom, we read: ". . . shall not see the smoke [Fol. 20b]." A comparison with the original shows that the translator has ignored the following word *ladain* ('of condemnation, judgment, hell'). On page 66, line 3, where we meet the expression 'the smoke of the place of torment,' he has translated *ladain*. On page 63, lines 17-18, we note: "and whosoever shall attach (or hang) it to his neck (or body)". In that case, it is better to give *hang* the preference and

place "attach" in parentheses. The final phrase in Ethiopic is *bakešād*, 'to his neck'. The rendering "body" is too free and does not represent the original. On page 69, lines 18-19, he has the correct interpretation of the same verb: "and hath suspended this book [from his neck]."

On page 35 is found the ghost-word *Badmâhîl*, which Budge regards as a corruption of the name of a Hebrew angel or archangel. On page 64, line 10, we find the same word. A study of the original shows, however, that every one of the nineteen names on page 64, lines 4-10 is preceded by the preposition *ba*. By detaching the preposition from this word, we obtain *Demâhîl*. On page 77, the translator correctly wrote *Demâhîl*, where in the Ethiopic it is preceded by the preposition *ba*. On page 79, we have *Demâhîl* three times in succession, where the original does not have the preposition. The form *Badmâhîl*, therefore, is simply an error of the translator.

On page 70, line 18, [Fol. 11b] should follow the word CHRIST.

The translation of the *Lefâfa Šedek* is followed (pp. 88-127) by excerpts from other Ethiopic literature which serve to elucidate some of the ideas in the text. The index (pp. 129-140) adds to the value of the work as a book of reference.

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*Language.* By LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, Professor of Germanic Philology in the University of Chicago. New York: HENRY HOLT & Co., 1933. ix + 564 pp.

Tho called a "revised version of the author's *Introduction to the Study of Language*" (1914) this is really a wholly new work. It is a masterly one. It would be hard to exaggerate the quality of the performance. For the most part it is clear, simple, easy to read, and absorbingly interesting, as well as sound and authoritative. It presents the best opinion of linguistic scholars on all important aspects of their science, in a form which, with rare exceptions, can be easily followed by any intelligent layman. It is intended for laymen; yet it will help the most advanced linguistic scholar to clarify his ideas, at least; and surely few will be found so erudite

that they cannot learn much from it. All teachers of languages ought to study it; unfortunately few of them have any real knowledge of linguistic science, and this is just the book they need.

There is only one important exception to its simplicity. Where Bloomfield develops his own (largely original) logical system of linguistic concepts, with corresponding terminology, summarized in tabular form on p. 264, even his great skill fails to avoid what will seem to most laymen abstruseness and technicality. Such terms as *taxeme*, *tagmeme*, and *episememe* (p. 166), are indeed little used in the rest of the book, and most of it can be easily understood without reference to what the author means by them—which will interest linguists but hardly the general reader. It is a bit unfortunate that a few sections of this character had to be inserted at an early point in the text. I sincerely hope that they will not prove an insurmountable barrier to the many who could, and ought to, read the later parts, even if they find these few sections indigestible.

If this be called a criticism (and I do not suggest that I could have avoided the difficulty), it applies to form alone. Even in form few improvements would seem to me possible in the book. In substance it is even harder, for this reviewer at least, to find grounds for complaint. My only important disagreement concerns a few of the symbols chosen to represent phonemes in standard English (as spoken in Chicago, the dialect which the author adopts as most convenient for him).

For instance, the vowel sound in *up* is represented by [o]. I think this is unfortunate for two reasons. First, it is confusing to a layman because this sound is rarely represented by *o* in our conventional spelling. Even Bloomfield seems to me to have been led into inconsistencies by this violation of English spelling habits. He uses the same [o] for the vowel sound in *horse* (p. 125) and for that in the first syllable of *protest* (verb; p. 112). It seems to me that in so doing he represents three different phonemes by the one sign [o], and that of these three the sound in *up* is the one which English speakers would least naturally associate with [o]; yet it is just this one which Bloomfield invariably represents thereby. The use of [o] in the other two words named is, I think, almost unparalleled in the book, and I suspect these two cases are unintentional lapses, due to the influence of the spelling habits referred to.

My other objection is more serious, because it relates to scien-

tific analysis, not conventional phonetic writing (which, of course, is arbitrary anyhow, so that the choice of one symbol rather than another is scientifically unimportant). The "compound phoneme" which we usually write *o*, as in *go*, is always represented by [ow]. "Compound phonemes" are defined (p. 90) as "combinations of simple phonemes. . . ." We must, therefore, assume that [ow] is a combination of [o] and [w]. But it seems to me that the vowel sound in *go* is certainly not a combination of the vowel sound in *up* with an element [w]; its first part is a quite different sound, at least in the dialect of Chicago and in all the United States. (It happens that standard British pronunciation does use, in such words as *oh!*, a diphthong which to my ear comes close to a combination of the vowel of *up* with a *w*; but Bloomfield was not referring to this.)—So also the first part of the "compound phoneme" [ej], as in *bay* [bej], is not identical with the simple phoneme represented by [e], as in *egg* [eg].

But these are trifles, which doubtless do not deserve so much space. In general, and in almost every detail, one is stimulated only to admiring appreciation of the author's rare combination of vast learning with the ability to present intricate facts in an orderly and easily comprehensible form.

Perhaps the high-water mark is the treatment of phonetic change and associated matters, a question on which distinguished linguists differ seriously, and which is hotly discussed among them today. Here Bloomfield's views are, as always, clear and definite, and may perhaps not be acceptable to some linguists. He adheres essentially to the "young grammarians." To me, at least, it seems that it will be hard for opponents to answer him; his is the best statement of the whole matter that I ever read.

The book is adequately indexed and contains an extensive and well selected bibliography, with special bibliographical notes to each chapter and to almost every one of the numbered sections into which the chapters are very conveniently divided.

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*The Meaning of Meaning.* By C. K. OGDEN & I. A. RICHARDS.  
3rd ed. London: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co.  
1930. Pp. 364.

*Mencius on the Mind.* By I. A. RICHARDS. London: KEGAN  
PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., 1932. Pp. 131 + 44.

These two volumes, of which the second constitutes an application of the principles enunciated in the first, are of fundamental importance to Orientalists, who are necessarily concerned with intricate problems of translation and interpretation. Not merely is the very meaning of the concept "meaning" various within the limits of one and the same language (the authors tabulate sixteen different kinds of "meaning" in English, distinguishing particularly "sense" from "value", both of which are covered by Sanskrit *artha*), but it can be safely said that as soon as we proceed from the simplest ranges of reference (vocabularies limited to a few hundred words) to the verbal symbolization of more complex references, no language possesses exact equivalents to the symbols of any other language. Hence *traduttore traditore*; unless, indeed, the reader of the translation has to such an extent assimilated the cultural background of the language translated from as to enable him to treat the terms of his own language employed in the translation as elements of a technical vocabulary having a content more or less distinct from that of customary usage and dictionary meaning. For example, with respect to solipsism (*Meaning* . . . , p. 19); from the European point of view, viz. considered from the standpoint of the individual existent amongst other seeming individuals, "solipsism" implies a reference very different from that which must be understood if the term be employed with respect to the Universal Self (in this connection it may be noted that the authors, conforming to an unfortunate practice of the present day, say "universal" when they "mean" "general"): cf. Dharmakīrti's refutation of solipsism, summarised by Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, I, p. 521 f. Or again, if *ātman* be rendered "Self", the reference will only be understood to the extent that a special and more or less unfamiliar "meaning" is associated with the symbol "Self"; and on the other hand, if symbols even less adequate are employed — e. g. "salvation" for *mukti*, "annihilation" for *nirvāṇa*, or "god" for *deva*—the "meaning" may be altogether lost. Thus not only must the reader understand that the translator

is using his own (the reader's) language in a special and technical way; but the translator himself needs to be even better acquainted with the language translated *into* than with the language translated *from*. A sound grammatical knowledge of the latter is merely a prerequisite, not an equipment. In attempting to render both sense and value (the distinction, of course, is "logical, not real") he must choose his verbal "equivalents" with a skill amounting to genius; he must also guard against the reader's misunderstanding by arranging the selected symbols in relation to one another in such a way that the context itself defines the meaning of the separate symbols. All this he can only do by bearing always in mind the multiple meanings (cf. *syādvāda* in Jaina logic) of each verbal symbol that may seem adequate to the end in view.

Furthermore, "Symbols cannot be studied apart from the references which they symbolize" (*Meaning* . . . , p. 20): "to determine the import of names is the same as to determine the fundamental character of concepts" (Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, I, p. 459). We cannot say that a sentence or a picture is "good" or "bad" without knowing "about" or "of" what (we cannot, of course, agree with the popular view expressed on p. 256 of *Meaning* . . . , that the emotional stimulus of poetry or painting is more important than, or even distinguishable from its "meaning"; "colour-qualities and form-qualities" cannot properly be separated from "colours and forms"; to consider the Vedas, the Divina Commedia, or any religious painting merely as "works of art" would be ridiculous, because these works are put forward as injunctions to *specific* actions, and could not be imagined to operate in the required direction without an understanding of their "meaning"). If we cannot or will not relate a symbol to its reference (such inability or unwillingness represents an æsthetic neurosis, or lack of intellectual virility), we are no better off than we might be in considering the utterances of a madman or a human parrot, whose symbols may be devoid of any reference whatever; then all we can say of the symbol is that we like or dislike the sound or look of it; but such estimative or animal judgments are plainly inadequate to the dignity of man as an intellectual animal, and the presumed humanity of the author whose works we are considering. Docti rationem artis intelligunt, indocti voluptatem.

In further connection with the problem of the "meaning" of

art, the suggestion is noteworthy, that it "may be questioned whether mimetic imagery is not really a late, sporadic product in mental development . . . the gratifications which it affords are no proof that the references concerned could not occur without it" (p. 61). That such "imagery may be prevalent without necessarily serving any important function" is surely true of the decadence of art in a realistic sense.

The translator, then, must not only know the words (symbols) of the language translated from, but must understand the thoughts to which these symbols refer: and must also understand the mentality and intellectual habits of the reader; then only can he make an identical reference by means of an alternative formulation. Many scholars are content with the knowledge of words, and in fact it is only this kind of knowledge that can be "objective" and "purely scientific"; the understanding of references cannot be "objective", for the simple reason that whatever remains alien to us (and "alien" is here synonymous with "objective") remains un-understood. The "false etymologies" of the Commentators are often better aids to understanding than are the "correct" etymologies of the philologist. In any case, without a conformity of knower and known there can be no understanding and no skill (*kauśalya*), but only a playing with words or other symbols: Scholastic and Oriental theories of knowledge are here in complete agreement, "What is studied, when we attain it 'for ourselves' (or in ourselves), is no longer something over against us to be examined, but a guiding source of ability in us" (*Mencius* . . . , p. 36). To understand the references "Tao" or "Brahman" is more than an epistemological feat; for by hypothesis, neither of these can be *objects* of knowledge. In the same way, non-existence "is 'a meaning' *padārtha*", but not a substance (*dravya*)" (Stcherbat-sky, *op. cit.*, p. 93): it should be noted that two quite distinct orders of "non-existence" are distinguishable, viz. (1) the non-existence of the impossible or illogical, such as a square circle or the son of a barren woman, which is an *impossibility* of existence, and (2) the non-existence proper to pure being and non-being, which non-existence, although alogical (inconceivable), is precisely the *possibility* of existence, inasmuch as existence is the contraction and identification into variety (modality, *-maya*) of being. "Existent" and "cognizable" have a common reference: *yat prameyam tat sat*.

"So-called scientific objectivity", as remarked by Jung (*Secret of the Golden Flower*, p. 77) "fears and rejects with horror any sign of living sympathy, and partly because an understanding that reaches the feelings might allow the contact with the foreign spirit to become a serious experience". All that is otherwise described by the scholar himself: he bravely resists the temptation "to find reason prevailing in a barbarous age" (Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 26), and uses "defensive tactics with the most serious possible purpose, seeking to rescue the commonplace from the sentimental" (Mills, in *JAOS* 20, p. 37). So out of the frying pan into the fire; from sentimentality to objectivity. It is sometimes forgotten that the scholar himself may also be human, *allzu menschliche*; that the imputation of barbarism may be a piece of unconscious wishful thinking, or, less charitably worded, a piece of vanity; and that interpretations neither commonplace nor sentimental are also possible. "As to the correctness of any interpretation, we must perhaps wait before deciding until as much attention, and of the same kind, has been given to these arguments (of Mencius and Lao Tzu) as to those of Plato, with which, in historic and intrinsic interest they rank" (*Mencius* . . . , p. 28). In any case, it must be recognized once for all, that one who regards a given text as "puerile, arid, and inane" (Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, p. 357) thereby, and regardless of whether he be right or wrong in this "objective" judgment, confesses himself incompetent to translate; for it will be impossible to symbolize correctly a reference in itself "inane"; in such cases the proper procedure is to regard the judgment as a sanction for refraining from the work of "translation" (the "translation", if made, will certainly not enable others to judge for themselves; it will be no more than a "crib", and in fact far too many existing translations of Oriental metaphysical texts are of this sort).

The discussion of "Problems of Translation", forming Ch. I of *Mencius* will apply *mutatis mutandis* to translation from Indian languages; it should be read in full. Two of the author's observations show that his method of approach has at least sufficed to make him very conscious of the unlikeness of Confucian and modern thought: thus, with reference to Mencius, VII, 1, 11, "I know words, I skilled (excel-in) cultivating my vast *ch'i*" (the latter symbol is not translated, but corresponds to "Spirit", "Life", that which is fontal, proceeds, or is emanated, Skt. *prāṇa*, Ar. *rūḥ*),



when he remarks, "The misuse of words, for him (Mencius), is not to be set right merely by a glance in a dictionary, or even by a course in the theory of interpretation, but by a rectification of the whole personality.<sup>1</sup> It is another hint that his conception of the nature and aims of language is not lightly to be equated with any conception of ours or with any part of our conceptions"; and, again, when he notes (p. 35) "The absence, in Mencius and his fellows, of a theoretical interest" (p. 83), and points out that "For Mencius, as for other Chinese philosophers wisdom is very much what we should describe as a skill" (p. 36). Here the Chinese and Indian attitudes are in complete accord, both being concerned with "knowledge how", rather than "knowledge of" or "knowledge for its own sake".

Let us apply this to the difficult problem of truth (in ethic), choosing the kind of text that so often provokes the moral indignation of modern critics: Mencius, IV, 2, 11, "Great men words not necessarily keep faith; conduct not necessarily resolute; only *Yi* (the right) is therein" (*yi*, or rather *i*, = *dharma*, *recta ratio*, that which is correct, or appropriate, or significant, or "true" in connection with *agibilia*). With this may be compared St. Paul's explanation of his failure to keep an appointment, Corinthians II. (Omikron, *Letters from Paulos*, 1920, pp. 139-140), "Did I indeed act with thoughtlessness? I did not. Is it the case (do you think) that things which I plan, I plan in the mere outer sense, so that with myself, my word Yea must be Yea, and my word Nay must be Nay? (like the teaching, which is) 'never Yea and Nay' . . . I appeal to my God as witness that it was because I am very mindful of you that I came no more to Korinthos". The general keeping of contracts may be a matter of convenience (both in the ordinary and in the theological senses of the word), but is not a part of the Law of Heaven. To fulfil the letter of a promise may be merely a mechanical adherence to "truth", at the same time an infringement of Truth in a higher sense, which Truth demands a perfect

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<sup>1</sup> With this may be compared the remark of Fr. Vincent McNabb, from the Foreword to the second English edition of Gilson's *Philosophy of St Thomas Aquinas*. "The Hebrew story of the tower of Babel suggests to us that "a confusion of tongues" is an extreme penalty for grievous mental faults"; the reference being precisely, not to variety of language, but to confusion of meanings, for "even when words are held in common, their meaning is not held in common."

response to the conditions existing at the moment of action. In the same way Shylock has undeniable justice on his side when he demands a pound of Bassanio's flesh; and yet he is in the wrong, and Portia finds a way out in accordance with it. The doctrine of Mencius cannot be called "immoral": it is only when a man breaks his word for private advantage, and not with respect to general truth, that he can be called "untrue".

The fascinating problems raised by the two volumes reviewed cannot be further discussed here. It may only be added, with reference to the remark "provincialism is dangerous" (*Mencius* . . . , p. xiv), that the vast Indian literature on logic and meaning has been entirely ignored: we recommend to the authors a study at least of such works as the *Kāvya Prakāśa* and *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*; and Stecherbatsky's *Buddhist Logic* ("a logic, but it is not Aristotelian. It is epistemological, but not Kantian. There is a widely spread prejudice that positive philosophy is to be found only in Europe. . . . We are on the eve of a reform", *ibid.* I, xii).

*The Secret of the Golden Flower: a Chinese Book of Life.* Translated by RICHARD WILHELM, with a commentary by C. G. JUNG. London: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & Co., 1932. Pp. 151, with 10 illustrations.

This is a treatise on Chinese *yoga*. The late Professor Wilhelm, to whom Jung pays affectionate tribute, translates from the point of view of the student primarily interested in the meaning of the text; like Mencius, he understands that "wisdom" can only be evaluated as "skill". The ideology of the text throughout can be closely paralleled in the Upaniṣads: for example, "the circulation of the Light . . . according to its own law" (p. 57) corresponds to the spiritual cosmology of *Chandogya Up.* III, 1-11. *Hun* and *p'o*, respectively *yang* and *yin*, male and female principles, correspond to *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*, and are rendered *animus* and *anima* (*animus* is understood by Jung quite differently), and represent the light upward tending and dark downward tending, celestial and chthonic, souls in one and the same individual. These principles are opposed; if the *anima* prevails, that affirmation or externalization (*pravṛtti*) tends to an ultimate disintegration of the personality, which is "made by things into a thing", cf.

*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* I, 4, 16. But "if it has been possible during life to set going the 'backward-flowing' movement (Skt. *nivṛtti*, *niḥsaraṇa*) of the life-forces" (Skt. *prāṇāḥ*), if the *animus* prevails, "then a release from external things takes place, the ego becomes "a god, deus, *shên*" (Skt. *deva*). As explained on p. 18, Taoism has in view to preserve this divine status, rather than to accomplish what Eckhart calls the last death of the soul or drowning, the Buddhist *parinirvāṇa anupādiśeṣa*, without residual existential elements. The Golden Flower is the elixir of life, Skt. *amṛta*, living waters in a spiritual sense, viz. that by which not the body, but the ultimately detached consciousness maintains itself as a "god". Such an immortality represents an integration of the personality which is not "natural", but must be achieved by every individual for himself. As pointed out by Jung, p. 124, this notion of the "timelessness of the detached consciousness is in harmony with the religious thought of all times and with that of the overwhelming majority of mankind . . . (and) anyone who does not think this way would stand outside the human order, and would, therefore, be suffering from a disturbance in his psychic equilibrium". From an Indian point of view, the greater part of the actual text may be described as designed to aid, guide, and warn the sincere practitioner of *yoga*.

Jung, not without justice, contrasts (p. 77) Wilhelm's approach with that of "scientific" scholarship, not in that Wilhelm is sentimental or inaccurate, but in that he treats the inner content of his subject seriously. We Western scholars, says Jung, are accustomed to hide our hearts "under the cloak of scientific understanding. We do it partly because of the *misérable vanité des savants*, which fears and rejects with horror any sign of living sympathy, and partly because an understanding that reaches the feelings might allow contact with the foreign spirit to become a serious experience". He points out that Wilhelm has not in this way allowed the meaning of his text "to be shelved by any one of the special sciences". Unfortunately, however, that is just what Jung himself has done, who confesses that he does "not understand the utter unworldliness of a text like this." even though he sees "the earth-born quality and sincerity of Chinese thought" (pp. 79, 80); worse still "To understand metaphysically is impossible; it can only be done psychologically", i. e. by transposition into the terms of his own "special

science". This, in commentary on a Taoist text, can only amount to saying that it is incomprehensible, Taoism and *yoga* being precisely metaphysical systems and methods, not kinds of psychotherapy; Jung's explanations, however admirable in themselves, thus represent a Taoism in which the Tao is left out.

Jung's repeated warnings against an "aesthetic or intellectual flirtation" of European minds with Oriental thought and method are in the main extremely well taken; to imitate Oriental methods would be a kind of *Chinoiserie*, "a case of the right means in the hands of the wrong men." On the other hand, he points out that that which may be a dangerous infection, may also become a healing remedy, "to hear the simple language of Wilhelm, the messenger from China, is a real blessing . . . it carries to us the delicate perfume of the Golden Flower. Penetrating gently, it has set in the soil of Europe a tender seedling, for us a new presentiment of life and Meaning." Indeed, "The picture of the East he has given us, free as it was from ulterior motive and any trace of violence, could never have been created in such completeness by Wilhelm, had he not been able to let the European in himself slip into the background. . . . Wilhelm fulfilled his mission in every sense of the word."

In the present edition, *maṇḍala* is consistently misprinted *mandāla*. What a *mandāla nrithya* (*nrtya*), p. 97, may be I cannot say, unless perhaps the dance alluded to is the *rāsa maṇḍala*. The title of Böhme's *XL Questions of the Soule* is misprinted "For the Questions of the Soule", p. 97, note 2.

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*The Story of Kālaka: Texts, history, legends, and miniature paintings of the Jain hagiographical work the Kālakācāryakathā.*

By W. NORMAN BROWN. Freer Gallery of Art Oriental Series, No. 1. Washington: SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, 1933. Pp. viii + 149, with 15 plates, 5 in full color.

This most admirable monograph combines two connected lines of study, offering on the one hand critical editions and translations of various versions of the Kālakācārya legend, and on the other summarizing and coördinating all that is known of the history of Jaina, Gujarātī, or as the author prefers to say, Western Indian, miniature painting. The reviewer cannot contribute to the criti-

cism of the Prakrit texts, and as regards misprints has noted only *patola* (for *paṭola*), p. 19. The additions to our knowledge of Western Indian painting are very welcome, for though "the importance of the school is such that no account of painting in India can nowadays afford to ignore it," it has been and still is unduly neglected, even M. Buhot finding nothing better to say than that "quelques enluminures jâïnes et krishnaïtes surprennent par leur barbarie et n'ont guère qu'une saveur décorative" (*L'Art, des origines à nos jours*, 1933, p. 365); according to Professor Brown, however, "The great merit of the art is the vigor of its drawing, the nervous force of its line, its high decorative quality".

Examples of the school range from A. D. 1127 to the end of the sixteenth century, those of early date occurring in palm-leaf, those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in paper Mss. Some changes in style and coloring take place, and there is a great change in the range of subject matter. The interesting point is brought out that in illustrating the Kālaka Mss. the artist may represent subjects not referred to in the actual text, and was thus illustrating the legend as a whole, rather than the particular text in hand. While the Jaina compositions are constantly repeated with merely minor variations, the Vaiṣṇava and secular illuminations present a much greater variety of subject matter and composition, and are more definitely related to the earlier productions of the Rajput school. Professor Brown discusses the peculiar treatment of the eyes at some length. Without rejecting any possible connection of the projecting eye in the paintings and the actual treatment of the eye in Śvetāmbara images, I will only say that this seems to me an inadequate explanation of the distortion: in European art, we should not explain the elongation of the figure in Ms. paintings as due to a copying of images, but rather think of the elongation in both as having a common psychological source. The projecting eye can hardly be isolated from the exaggeration of other features, and the angularity of the style as a whole. These exaggerations, moreover, correspond to those of the poetical literature, in which the eyes are said to reach the ears, and the nose is compared to a parrot's. A similar angularity and distortion may be remarked in the Javanese *wayang* figures, cf. Verneuil, "Interpretation de la figure humaine dans l'art javanais," *Rer. As.*, IV, 1927, pp. 67-76. As a more direct contribution to the history of the mannerisms of

Western Indian painting, reference may be made to an engraving, to all intents and purposes a drawing, representing Garuḍa, and occurring on a copper plate of Vākpatirāja of Dhāra, A. D. 974, see Burgess, *ASWI*, Vol. III, Pl. LXIII: here, even discounting the elongation of the nose as proper to the subject, the Western Indian style is already clearly recognizable, and even the projecting eye is unmistakably though not conspicuously, developed.

As regards the symbolic representation of the Guru (figs. 5, 18, 34, 35), I have received some further information from Mr. N. C. Mehta, who quotes Pandit Sukhlāl of Ahmadabad. A symbol of this sort is used only in Śvetāmbara circles; the symbol is employed alike by cleric (*sādhu*) and layman (*śrāvaka*). Commonly spoken of as *sthāpanācārya*, and more technically as *kaṣiṇa*, the symbol consists of a tripod, supporting a white cotton, wool, or silk cloth in which is wrapped a conch, cowrie, piece of sandal-wood, or similar object, the nature of the object varying with the Gaccha. In case the proper object is not available, a book, pen, or staff may be employed, and the *sthāpanācārya* is then spoken of as *asthāi*, "temporary". No one should pass between the worshipper and the symbol, which is accorded a respect similar to that which would be due to the Guru in person.

I may add that Professor Brown informs me that he has recently, and since the publication of the present monograph, received from India reproductions of five miniature paintings from a palm-leaf MS of the *Kalpasūtra*, of which the last page, reproduced in full, bears the date Saṃvat 927, equivalent to A. D. 870, that is, 257 years earlier than any similar MS hitherto published.

The monograph is illustrated by 15 plates, of which 5 are in color. The author, the Guggenheim Foundation, and the Freer Gallery are to be heartily congratulated on the appearance and value of this first volume in the series of "Oriental Studies" projected by the latter Institution.

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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## IN MEMORIAM:

EDWARD CHIERA, RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY.

Within less than a month American Assyriology lost two of its foremost representatives. On June 21, 1933, Chiera died in a Chicago hospital, and Dougherty passed away at New Haven on July 13. Both were in the prime of their productive powers: Dougherty was 55 at the time of his death, and Chiera only 48.

Edward Chiera was born in Rome, Italy. On his arrival in this country he studied at the Crozer Theological Seminary and at the University of Pennsylvania, where he received his doctor's degree and rose gradually from the position of Harrison Research Fellow to that of Professor in Assyriology. In 1925 he served as Annual Professor of the American School in Baghdad crowning his first season in the Orient with a brilliant archaeological campaign at Nuzi, one of the centers of Hurrian culture. There followed two other seasons of excavations under his direction, at Nuzi (1927-8) for Harvard University and the Baghdad School, and at Khorsabad (1928-9) for the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, where he had just been called as Editor of the Assyrian Dictionary. Both campaigns were attended by that measure of scientific success which we had come to expect of Chiera. At the time of his death Chiera was under appointment as Annual Professor of the Baghdad School for the forthcoming season. His numerous and exemplary publications include four volumes of Nuzi Texts, three volumes of Personal Names from Nippur, a volume of Sumerian Religious Texts, which he brought out from the obscurity of the Museum at Constantinople, a volume of Lexical Documents, and several minor editions. He was unexcelled as a decipherer, a remarkable organizer, a man of keen scientific insight. To his various tasks he brought a limitless enthusiasm which could not but impart itself to all who worked with him. He will be missed as a great scholar and an inspiring coworker; the warmth of his friendship and the charm of his vivid personality cannot be replaced.

Raymond P. Dougherty was a native of Lebanon, Pa. His early theological training led to his appointment as principal of the Mission School at Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa. The

rigors of that position having undermined his health, he turned to post-graduate work in Assyrian at Yale University, where he took his degree under A. T. Clay in 1918. Upon his graduation he became Professor of Biblical Literature at Goucher College. In 1925-6 he served with distinction as Annual Professor of the American Schools in Jerusalem and Baghdad, and in 1926 he succeeded Professor Clay as the holder of the Laffan Chair of Assyriology at Yale. Among his major publications are three volumes of Texts from Erech, Assyriological treatises on *The Shirkutu of Babylonian Deities* and *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, and the challenging work on *The Sealand of Ancient Arabia*. In spite of his earlier breakdown in Africa Dougherty continued as a tireless and painstaking worker, a circumstance which no doubt hastened his passing, to the deep sorrow of all his friends and colleagues.

American Assyriology will not soon recover from the loss of two of its small group of leaders, Chiera and Dougherty.

E. A. S.



## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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Dr. George W. Gilmore, member of this SOCIETY, died on August 22, 1933.

Miss Elizabeth Dunbar, West Cornwall, Conn., wishes to prepare a biography in connection with the memorial for the late Dr. Talcott Williams, a former President of this SOCIETY. For this purpose she is asking his friends to place at her disposal whatever materials they may have relating to him, especially letters and reprints of articles on Oriental subjects by Dr. Williams.

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

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The Director of the British Museum announces that an extensive scheme of reconstruction on the northern wing of the Museum will involve the closing of all the rooms on the upper floor in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, save the First, Second, and Third Egyptian Rooms. The objects from these exhibition galleries will for the most part have to be packed away, and will be inaccessible until the reconstruction is completed. The attention of scholars is requested to this point, and they are informed that these galleries will be shut on October 1st.

This reconstruction will also necessitate the demolition of the present Students' Room. It is hoped to provide temporary accommodation elsewhere, so that scholars may have access to tablets and papyri; but this work will take several months. The Students' Room will be shut as from Monday, October 16th, 1933; a statement as to re-opening may, it is hoped, be made in the British Press in March, 1934.

## NEW TESTAMENT TIMES—AND NOW \*

A. T. OLMSTEAD

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FRIENDS have expressed surprise that this subject should be presented before the American Oriental Society. New Testament papers rarely appear on our programs, names of prominent New Testament scholars are conspicuously missing from our membership lists. The books of the New Covenant are written in Hellenistic Greek of the Koine, for parallels in language and thought we examine contemporary Greek literature or papyri. Sources for a history of New Testament times must be found in "classical" works.

All this is true but is far from being the whole truth. In certain respects, the history of New Testament times is a part of "classical" history; it is the very essence of that later ancient oriental history we tend to ignore.

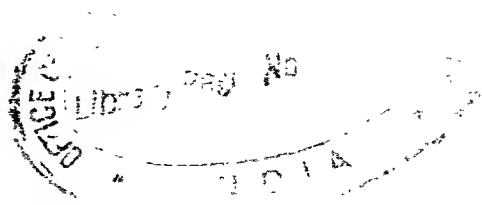
Too often ancient oriental history is assumed to end with the great empires of the older Near East: Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, the Hebrews, with Achaemenid Persia as a possible appendix. With Alexander oriental history as such is supposed to give place to Greek and Roman history until suddenly oriental history begins once more with the Muslims.

Our present attitude is explained by the history of history itself. Our day has seen the interest of "classical" historians shift from the Age of Pericles and the Roman Republic to the Hellenistic and Roman empires. Through their devoted labors, we are presented with a picture of the Graeco-Roman Orient which is sufficiently Greek and Roman but only in slight degree oriental, while Parthia and the Sasanids can barely be detected.

If our picture is badly out of focus, we can blame only ourselves. Yet we have our excuse, we must first work up material from the older Orient which has twice at least doubled since we began our studies in order to paint the wider background. We must begin our history with the new world of the Persians, we may not stop until we have reached the new world of the Muslims. Only by so wide a conception of our task may we hope to understand New Testament times.

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\* Presidential Address, delivered at the meeting of the Society, in New York, April 18, 1933.



Our history affords the background of our two great religions, Christianity and Judaism, but that does not exhaust its value. During this period, oriental technology and art went west through commerce, men of the Orient gave the world new thoughts in a new literature. East and west came together, learned from one another, and separated, even as they are doing today. Much in the story has a vital interest to us who live in these troublous times. The historian is not a preacher, but those who deal with the long millennia of the ancient Orient know how often history does repeat itself.

When Persians conquered the ancient empires, the world entered a new cycle, though no man knew it at the time. The Orient did know that it was old. Its scholars possessed dynastic lists of kings for four millennia, before them were long-lived demigods, still earlier prediluvian monarchs reigned 64,800 years or the gods themselves were kings. Thus they felt the same backward sweep of history and prehistory that grips us when we recall the long ages since man first appeared on earth. Stories of ancient heroes like Khufu or Sargon filtered to the common folk by word of mouth. Added to this was conscious archaism. Jewish lawgivers invoked the name of Moses to authenticate their codes, Nebuchadnezzar and Nabu-naid reestablished ancient rituals, Chaldaeans and Saites chose the golden age of Hammurabi or Thutmose as models for their writing, language, literature, and art.

Viewed from this Year of our Lord, New Testament times are indeed modern. Cyrus was actually farther removed from Menes or Mes-anni-padda than from us. Jesus lived our side of the dividing line by more years than have elapsed since the discovery of America. His age in culture, in modes of thought, in problems, was curiously akin to our own, more so in certain respects than the America of George Washington.

Men of the north had long before entered the Orient, as Hittites writing the first Indo-European, as Indo-Iranians ruling in Mitanni and Palestine, as Kashshites in Babylonia. Late in the ninth century, Iranians appeared in Parsua and as Medes. The Persian Hakhmanish built up a kingdom east of Assyria to fight Sennacherib, his descendants in a double line ruled in Parsua and Anshan. Ariyaramna in the late seventh century wrote Persian cuneiform and with familiar formulae invoked the national god Auramazda. Then the Persians became vassals of the Medes, who introduced

the new age by bringing for the first time large sections of the Orient under northern rule.

The Persians too were northerners, of definite Nordic physique and speaking a language not far from the original Indo-European. Despite borrowings from older neighbors, their art, fully developed at Pasargadae and magnificently exhibited in Persepolis, remained essentially Iranian. In contrast to the dominant fertility cults, they worshipped the northern open air deities.

While Cyrus was conquering the ancient world, Zoroaster appeared in Parsua, the old Persian home. His teachings found no acceptance and he fled to Vishtaspa, son of the vassal king Arshama, whom Cyrus had made satrap of the newly conquered Parthia. Here he lived in honor until the accession of the first Darius, whose exposition of the national religion shows faint traces of his preaching.

From his own words, we may sketch his life and the progress of his thought, the loftiness of his aspirations and his lovable human frailties. His doctrines show not the slightest acquaintance with those of the older Orient, they are native to his soil and race, but they have risen above northern polytheism to a height never again reached unaided by northern prophets.

Zoroaster in time was canonized, his authority invoked for practices of northern polytheism he had vigorously opposed, his approval quoted for the northern sun god Mithra or the Elamite sacred prostitute Anahita. But other thinkers found his doctrines fresh and bracing. It is no accident that the Gathas of Zoroaster sound like the first New Testament.

Cyrus assumed the title "King of Babylon" and worshipped Marduk as the Great Lord. His wider domain was organized on the model of the older empires, native administrators were retained at their posts, business went on as usual. This wise concession to the religious, political, and cultural prejudices of the subject population was continued by his successors. Thousands of administrative and business letters and documents present a vivid picture of life in Babylonia under Persian rule and prove that in their more efficient use of the older administrative system the Persians anticipated the Macedonians.

When Greeks of Asia fell to Cyrus as spoil of war, the land-holding aristocrats were being challenged by a new bourgeoisie which could appreciate opportunities offered by trade within a great

empire; naturally, their leaders, the tyrants, were given charge of the city states. The Ionic Revolt was the reaction of the aristocrats against the bourgeois tyrants; the revolt suppressed, the states were reorganized under democratic constitutions. Henceforth Greek democracies were regularly pro-Persian.

Athenian democrats signalized their first accession to power by fining the dramatist who recalled aid to Ionian rebels. When Persian generals followed the "hot trail" back to Attica, only the blunder of destroyed Eretria saved Athens from surrender by the democratic Alcmaeonidae. The democrat Themistocles urged Xerxes to attack the allies entrapped at Salamis, and when ostracized by the returned aristocracy, he claimed and received his reward.

As heirs to Greek culture, we may sympathize with the allies, though they favored no democracy, they represented no majority, they were fighting with a hopelessly local patriotism and not for a Greece which in their minds was a mere geographical expression. As citizens of an imperial world power, we might more easily appreciate the Persian view of the war, suppression of rebels and chastisement of Greeks beyond the border who gave them unwarranted aid.

Nor did the wars free the Greek subjects of Persia. Aristocrat Cimon revived the struggle, democrat Pericles worked out a *modus vivendi*. For purely selfish ends, the Younger Cyrus reversed the natural Persian policy with disastrous results to Athens; his death renewed the normal Athenian alliance, though it was reserved for conservative Sparta to sponsor the King's Peace which abandoned all transmarine Greeks to Artaxerxes. Demosthenes may have loved overmuch the king's golden archers, he was following ancient ways of democracy.

Alexander began his career as a Crusader who like Agamemnon should avenge the wrongs of ravished Greece on the Asiatic; the Great Crusade came to a fitting end with the burning of Persepolis in a drunken feast. But already he had learned from Egyptian Amon that he was the son of the god. He was hailed as god-king by his subjects to his joy. The *proskynesis*, the reverence to the king-god, was introduced; his Macedonian soldiers protested and he armed his orientals in Macedonian fashion. Oriental pomp and circumstance surrounded him, for he had married the Great King's daughter and had rewarded his followers who imitated his example. Babylon was to be the capital of a world empire which should be oriental with a Greek leavening.

Such a union of the oriental and the Greek was not so absurd as we might think. Golden-haired Alexander might marry a golden-haired Iranian princess. His Macedonian dialect was closer to the original Indo-European than Athenian Greek, though he had never heard that the same was true of Persian. His new subjects were predominantly of the Mediterranean race as were those of Greece, in both regions were Alpine or Armenoid strains. Whether through the older Minoans or more directly in the years of colonial expansion, the Greeks had borrowed much from the Orient; in the last century the reverse movement had begun and from the cities under Persian sway Greek culture had spread to such native princes as Mausolus of Caria or the merchant kings of Phoenicia. Thus the eastern Mediterranean was well prepared for union.

Sheer accident, the premature death of Alexander, set back the clock for centuries. The mighty empire shattered; those who like Ptolemy were wise, seized the choice fragments, the foolish attempted to hold the empire together for Alexander's heirs or for themselves. This period of the "Successors" is not given its rightful place in history. Behind dull accounts of mercenaries marching back and forth in pretended aid of this or that contestant, we glimpse a new order in formation. At first, many of the satraps remained Iranian, Iranian soldiers were in the armies. The natives were often sympathetic to their foreign masters, their aid was courted. Gradually the native satraps and soldiers disappeared, the orientals suffered more and more as army after army plundered their cities and fields. The great Persian hoards of gold and silver which had acted as a reserve to stabilize prices were seized and dissipated among thriftless mercenaries. A sudden influx of the precious metals drove prices high with the inevitable readjustment which left the few extremely rich and the poor worse than before. Ipsus stabilized the political situation with two powerful monarchies, the Seleucid and the Lagid, whose constant wars too much attract the historian.

Of all the "Successors," Seleucus alone retained his native wife, but this meant nothing. A deliberate attempt to enforce Hellenization supplanted the wiser policy of Alexander. The official language of the Hellenistic empires was Greek, which minor officials must write, however badly. Those who would be heard by the ruling class, whether in petition or by literature worthy the royal patronage, must employ the same language. Berossus in Babylonia and

Manetho in Egypt prepared Greek histories of their native lands for their new masters. Jews of Egypt must have their sacred books translated into the vernacular, Jewish authors retold the sacred story in Greek prose and verse.

Yahweh was not alone in his identification with Zeus Olympius, for each oriental god or goddess must be made respectable by assuming the name of some Greek divinity, each must have a statue by a more or less famous Greek sculptor, each must appear on coins and reliefs with Greek attributes. Jerusalem Jews were proud to be enrolled as citizens of the new Antioch and to be marshalled among the army recruits and clubmen of the epheboi, they exercised nude in the gymnasium and wore that symbol of the west, the hat.

Hellenizing monarchs must have rejoiced at the sweeping triumph of Hellenism, even though to gratify the priests an Antiochus might pray to Nabu in his native Akkadian or a Ptolemy honor Horus with a new temple and ancient hieroglyphics. They did not look below the surface. Almost without exception the natives spoke their own language at home. In Egypt they prepared documents in their current demotic, by the Euphrates men insisted on the equally difficult cuneiform; the only sign of foreign rule is the date by the Seleucid era, the Greek signet seal, or "Nana-iddin whose second name is Demetrius." Faithful souls copied ancient Shumerian hymns and incantations or liver omens in expectation of a native king.

Cause for thought might have been found in the administration. The "Successors" had abandoned their native wives but they remained oriental king-gods. Administration was directed by Greek experts, but like the Persians before them the experts retained the ancient administrative divisions, the ancient imposts, the ancient methods of collection. Administrative documents from Seleucid Babylonia show little change from the Persian or Chaldaean, the Greek papyri from Egypt are explained by the demotic. Despite or because of Greek efficiency the lot of peasant and artizan changed little and that for the worse. Minor officials regularly were called by their native names. The priests had lost to the state much of their former wealth, but they retained undiminished their hold on the people's conscience.

At the very moment when Hellenism appeared all triumphant, the reaction began. Fifty-one years after Ipsus, Bactria revolted from the Seleucids. Curiously enough, the leaders were Greeks,

depicted on coins by great artists with the broad Greek hat. But soon the art degenerated, the inscriptions were bungled by die makers ignorant of Greek, Indian symbols and legends appeared, the dress went native, the portraits indicated infusion of native blood, and Hellenism disappeared from this far outpost.

Three years after Bactria, Parthia declared its independence. Soon the new Iranian power was casting its shadow over the Seleucids and projecting its threat and its promise before. In the west, the empire was also disintegrating. Pergamum was Greek, the Galatians were northern intruders, but Bithynia was Anatolian and Pontus and Cappadocia were Iranian, though all claimed membership in the Hellenistic concert of powers.

The Orient would have been quickly lost to Hellenism had not there come on the scene the great republic of the west. A simple, practical, uncultured people, the Romans had slowly expanded to the boundary seas, freely granting to fellow Italians a limited citizenship they refused to their overseas subjects. Attacked in their hour of peril by supposed friends, they crossed the wider seas, defeated Macedonians and Seleucids, freed Greece, and returned without taking an acre of soil. Conquered lands were left to their friends; the chief gains were to oriental Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and the newly independent Armenia, and at the expense of those exponents of Hellenism, the Seleucids.

With small loss of life, the Romans had won much wealth and grudging recognition as the world's great power. Their senate withdrew from overseas to meet pressing problems at home. But Romans had an unfortunate sense of duty; as the world's moral guardians, they must settle its problems for its own good. This feeling of obligation was increased by constant appeals from impolitic Hellenistic states for decisions which never satisfied the winner and alienated the loser. Their armies disbanded, they resorted to commissions of observers who were alternately feted and reviled. Inexperienced in world affairs and too conscious of cultural inferiority, the bewildered Romans could only muddle along.

While Rome was vainly attempting a policy of isolation, the disintegration of the Hellenistic world continued. At first, it was to the advantage of native rulers yet anxious to be considered Hellenes. Then natives began to enter Macedonian armies, men who disdained to shed their native names rose to higher positions. The native languages came back in a nationalistic religious litera-



ture, such as the Jewish apocalypses which dreamed of a heaven-sent Davidic king. Threatened by the reaction of which Daniel is witness, the Jewish Hellenizers appealed to Antiochus, the Manifest God, who stayed for a moment the movement only to have it break forth more violently with the Maccabees. Soon the Parthians were in Babylonia where the cuneiform tablet had outlived the Macedonians.

A new, more sophisticated generation was in power at Rome; its members knew that all great Greeks were dead and intended to enjoy their world supremacy. Leaders of the old world failed to realize the change and continued their futile policy of pin pricks. Rome struck twice and hard in 146; Corinth and Carthage were ruined and the world cowered before a new and savage Rome.

Rome entered the Orient through the bequest of Pergamum. Politicians and capitalists at once joined hands to loot the provinces and to exploit the "friends and allies"; then if ever the association of sinners and publicans was justified. Mithradates presented himself as an Iranian savior and was welcomed by oppressed provincials with a massacre of 80,000 Italians; he failed, and the cities of Asia mortgaged their temples and glutted the slave market to pay the cost of his failure. Tigranes, Armenian King of Kings, fared no better, each war only added plunder for Lucullean banquets or fresh territories to loot, the remnants of the Seleucid empire or the recent conquests of the Hasmonaeans.

Then the orientals turned to the Parthians, who to their joy brought the hitherto all victorious legions to a permanent halt at the Euphrates. Civil war between Pompey and Caesar meant new woes, the exactions of the so-called Liberators reduced them to utter despair, and they welcomed the Parthians as the only true liberators. Four years the King of the Jews was a Parthian vassal, then the invaders were expelled and Herod was king of the Jews as a Roman client. Cleopatra and Antony were to oriental eyes no romantic figures, their Parthian and Armenian wars kept the east in a turmoil, their Club of Inimitable Livers produced ruinous taxation and an utterly debased currency. For the last time, orientals at Actium gathered to assist a loser. Again they saw "barbarian" allies mercilessly slaughtered by the victor, again their local kings were deposed, again there were heavy indemnities imposed on men whose only crime was that they had obeyed the constituted authorities. The Roman Orient was desperate, bled

white and bankrupt, but too weak to rebel; it desired only peace and this at least it was granted.

Roman senators might salve their pride by accepting the official explanation that Augustus was chief magistrate of a restored republic; the Orient knew the truth. Imperator Caesar Augustus could be translated by them only as "General King God." He was General, for all eastern provinces save Asia were under martial law administered by his lieutenants. He was Caesar, King of Kings, who reigned in Egypt through his prefect, whose vassal kings ruled client states. He was God, how else could he be king? Roman senators might amuse his successor and themselves by debating after his death whether he should be officially deified, they worshipped a living king god.

Their lot under Augustus was none too happy. Too many Herods must render tribute to Caesar, too many sharp-eyed procurators were seeking new sources of revenue. Augustus was a newcomer from the middle class; to win the favor of true aristocrats, he allowed them pickings in the provinces. Ventidius was doubtless not the only governor, who, in the scathing words of Velleius Paterculus, "entered rich Syria poor and left poor Syria rich!" But Augustus did regain the standards lost to Parthia by diplomacy and not war, and to an exhausted world he gave peace. And in the days of Caesar Augustus was Jesus born.

Jesus was a Jew and so an oriental. His life and teachings must be viewed against a background not limited by Biblical history, but including the whole ancient east. He was not a proud citizen like Paul, but a provincial, one of the despised "war prisoners." He knew not the official Latin, he scarcely read books by Greek-writing intellectuals, though an acquaintance with the common speech may be assumed. His quoted words are Aramaic, the dominant language of the Orient, spoken from Palestine through Syria and Mesopotamia deep into the Parthian domain, a bond of union between subjects of the two rival empires. He was also able to read his scriptures in the original Hebrew. Thus the influences exerted directly upon him were dominantly oriental.

This is not to deny other influences. His home was tiny Nazareth; only a mere half hour's walk away was flourishing Sepphoris, with its theatre and half Hellenized citizenry. Just over the hill was the Great Plain, through which ran the nerve center of the east, the Great Road. Jesus was thus close to the outside world, as he

could not have been in retired Jerusalem. Since Bible times, his land had been ruled by Persians, Macedonians, and Romans; it had been exposed to a Hellenistic culture at first pure Greek but soon impregnated by a medley of the most diverse elements, Egyptian, Phoenician, Babylonian, and Iranian. It was good soil for a universal religion.

We have little time to discuss Christian literature. One thing we must ever bear in mind: we find no parallel in traditions of Hebrew nomads; the evangelists wrote in an age of literacy never again approached until close to our day. Greek papyri accidentally preserved in the Egyptian back country prove that ordinary folk wrote often though badly. Minor officials with papyrus and time at their disposal prepared interminable reports, as must the publican Matthew. Letters on every conceivable subject are sent by men and women no higher in the social scale than the fisherman Peter. As for more pretentious authors, long lists of poets, philosophers, historians, scientists, religious propagandists, "Greek" writers from every corner of the Orient whose books perhaps fortunately have been lost, crowd the pages of a detailed history of "classical" literature.

Some of the older oriental languages were dying. The last tablet in Akkadian cuneiform dates just before the Christian era, about the time of the last Phoenician inscription. But Egyptian hieratic was written in our first century, hieroglyphic regularly commemorated Roman emperors until the third, demotic endured after Coptic, Egyptian written in an adaptation of Greek letters, had produced many dull books. Paul and Barnabas heard the speech of Lycaonia in the Roman colony of Lystra, Phrygian was to reappear on grave monuments, Phoenician to revive in Africa as Neo-Punic. But Aramaic was the dominant oriental language, what it had lost in Asia Minor and Egypt was more than compensated by the conquest of Parthia. We know it in the first century from Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions, perhaps also from the Jewish translations of the Bible, but the numerous literary productions have perished or survive only in translations.

With so high a literacy, it would be strange if the sayings of Jesus were not written down for preservation soon after his death. We should expect the first collection to be in his native language, the Aramaic; certainly Aramaic sources, written or oral, shine forth through our Gospels. It is difficult for the historian, accus-

tomed to the criticism of contemporary sources, to resist the conviction that in the stories of Jesus and his disciples we have essentially trustworthy documents of decidedly early date.

Tiberius came of ancient family and felt no awe of the senate; first of emperors he manifested that care for provincials which distinguished the early empire. Trials of noble but dishonest governors naturally gave models for the picture of the tyrant painted by the rhetorical Tacitus; provincials might applaud a ruler who wished his sheep sheared but not skinned.

For two centuries the empire prospered. Twice the contested imperial title brought suffering to provincials. Twice the empire was convulsed by Jewish wars whose ravages extended far beyond Palestine; in one, the Temple was destroyed and Jewish religion transformed by the disaster, in the second, the embers of Jewish nationalism were stamped out and Judaism was driven to refuge with more tolerant Parthians.

Peace at home was paralleled by peace abroad. Rome at last had recognized that Parthia was her military equal, and diplomacy regularly took the place of war. Each emperor labored to rectify the frontier, but chiefly by incorporation of client states into provinces like Cappadocia or Arabia, by building military roads, and by fixed camps at strategic points. Armenia was no man's land, and led through skirmishes to major wars under Nero and Trajan. The latter destroyed Seleucia, the last great outpost of Hellenism remaining in Parthia, but his new oriental provinces were abandoned by Hadrian. Internal dissensions and barbarian pressure from north and east kept Parthia equally inclined to preserve the peace.

Urbanization of the Orient through colonies and municipalities was a definite policy of the emperors. Its success is proved by scores of ruins of once flourishing cities; the ruins prove also that the policy of Hellenization was less successful. Roman colonies may be discovered by their Latin inscriptions, there are Greek inscriptions by the thousand, but curious mistakes in spelling and syntax witness the native tongue beneath. Cities issued local coins in imitation of Roman, but the gods, their shrines, and their symbols were increasingly oriental, the reliefs show the same oriental revival. Architecture clearly reveals new ideas from farther east entering the Roman Orient.

Rome, Augustus, Jupiter were official deities, oriental gods still were called by Greek names. Each city or region adored its local

Baal or Hadad, its Horus or Amon, its Cybele and Attis, but the new life in the national religions was especially manifest in those which had become universal. Cybele had gone to Rome in the Punic wars, Serapis and Isis followed. At the beginning of the first Christian century, Jews were compassing the earth to make proselytes, at its end there were Christian converts from Arbela to Spain. Lucian ridiculed the Olympians but praised his Syrian goddess, Apuleius by licentious tales led men to seek salvation in Isis. A fitting climax was when soldiers found the ancient Roman "virtus" in the mysteries of Iranian Mithras!

Oriental seers for two centuries had found consolation in their present miseries by rejoicing over the coming fall of this modern Babylon; now surely the appointed time was at hand. Under the apparent prosperity of the Antonines were dangerous currents. Too efficient administration had strangled local initiative and built up a powerful central bureaucracy. Government had exacted an increasing proportion of a declining national income, imposing buildings had frozen capital sorely needed for industry and trade, the resulting technical and artistic deterioration of their wares was becoming obvious. While encouraging urbanization, government had utterly ignored the farming population. Oriental peasants had never risen far above actual serfdom, now they were so crushed they fled in increasing numbers to follow a life of brigandage.

Inefficient and worthless emperors brought on the deluge. Northern barbarians ranged wide over a helpless and sullen empire which avenged its wrongs on the Christians. Almost unnoticed, a Parthia weakened by stupid Roman attacks was supplanted by the young and vigorous Sasanids, inflamed by a militant Zoroastrianism. Shapur made captive the emperor Valerian, his raiders almost touched hands with the northern invaders. The empire fell apart into its national elements. Wahaballat of Palmyra called himself emperor and employed Latin imperial formulae, but his rule like that of his mother Zenobia was accepted in the east as thoroughly oriental.

By some miracle, able emperors appeared and drove back the barbarians. Zenobia was captured and Palmyra destroyed, the Persians were held beyond the Euphrates. It was a sadly shattered empire which Diocletian secured. Reorganization was possible only by recognition of hard cold facts. Great cities had shrunk, smaller ones had disappeared; our Greek papyri, so eloquent of over-

weening bureaucracy, become rare, for the Fayum towns were deserted. Renewal of local rights such as coinage and free assembly was out of the question. Bureaucracy might be curbed, its dead hand could not be withdrawn. Inflation had gone on unchecked, prices had skyrocketed, with an ever increasing spread between the incomes of the more and less fortunate classes, yet the wealthy too were becoming poor; the Edict of Diocletian to fix prices already far beyond those of the last century was a failure. Citizen armies no longer existed, the army was reorganized on the oriental model. Worst of all, morale was completely broken, nor could it be renewed by a last desperate persecution of the Christians.

We sense a strangely familiar atmosphere. Once more the world is conscious of its age. Greek heroes have long since passed away, there are no Great Kings like Cyrus or Darius, no emperors like Alexander or Caesar. Administration has hardened, status has taken the place of individual freedom. Great authors are no longer expected nor are new discoveries, classical art is in complete decay. The very gods of the Greeks are dying or dead, and with them their oriental counterparts.

Yet once again there is stirring of new life. On the borders are barbarians, Arabs, Huns, a medley of northern peoples, awaiting their turn. There are new currents of thought, which, whatever their content, tend to clothe themselves in religious forms.

Within the ancient empires new religions were in power. Christianity was no longer a Jewish sect, it had made its peace with philosophy and had learned much from its environment. Its first official conquest was Iranian Armenia, where it encouraged an outburst of historical, religious, and geographical literature in the newly invented Armenian script. Soon after it was imposed on the Roman empire by Constantine, and again there followed an outpouring of compositions, whose religious form should not blind us to their often secular implication. Nor should we interpret the flood of controversial writings merely in terms of dogma; heresy was frequently equivalent to nationalism, and built up native literatures in Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian. Often with this heresy went opposition to the social and economic privileges of the dominant classes.

Official Roman protection of Christians did not make them more acceptable subjects of the Sasanids. Persecutions completed the break with "orthodox" Christianity, for Zoroastrianism was now

intolerant. The Gathas of Zoroaster were chanted in their services, he had himself been canonized, but his followers were far from his teachings, their cult had been adapted to current practice. Hybrid forms had been evolved such as Manichaeism, whose doctrines like those of oriental Christianity penetrated far beyond the borders of the Near East. Even Judaism was no longer based directly on the Laws of Moses, in the academies of Babylonia under Sasanid protection and influenced by older thought, the rule of life was promulgated in the massive Talmud of Babylon.

These stirrings of new life were equally evident in an art whose beauties only our blindness to conventions other than Greek has prevented us from appreciating. We may trace the fresh start in the stuccoes of the Parthian palace at Seleucia or somewhat later at Hatra. We find it in monumental form in the great arch of Ctesiphon or the recently uncovered Sasanid palace at Kish with its amazing stucco facade. In ground plan and elevation, in detail and ornamentation, the way was being prepared for the more familiar beauties of early Muslim architecture. The temples and palaces and tombs of Dura and Palmyra, the churches and homes of North Syria and the Hauran, no longer appear as degenerations of classical architecture, but as first signs of a new art which was to sweep over our own west.

The same is true of the so-called minor arts. We are beginning to recognize how superb is the sculpture, how delicate the seals, how masterly the work of the coppersmith, how technically satisfying the glazed pottery. Virtually every craft in which the Arab excelled was already fully developed in this period of supposed decay.

To Muslim thinking, the Arabs before Islam lived in an "Age of Ignorance." True, it was ignorance of Islam, but the term has cast a cloud over all their earlier history. Until we realize that ancient Arabia had a history all its own, that pre-Islamic Arabia is an essential part of our later ancient oriental history, we cannot hope to understand Islamic origins.

In the far background, we must place the high cultures of the Minaeans and Sabaeans, which continued in by no means degenerate forms almost to the days of the Prophet. We must not forget earlier Arabs who may have written the current Aramaic but established attractive mixed cultures at Palmyra and Petra, and through Emesa and the Hauran gave emperors to Rome. Above

all, we must emphasize Hira and Ghassan, buffer states for Sasanids and Romans, which opened the peninsula wide to culture influences from these centers.

It was not an age of religious ignorance. A relatively pure Sabaeen religion survived in South Arabia. Zoroastrianism had made some headway. Jewish communities were numerous and large, the famous Abu Nuwas was one of their converts. Christianity had won the kings of Ghassan and some of the kings of Hira, whose population was predominantly Christian, there were many Christians in the peninsula, particularly at Nejran with its bishop and cathedral. Arab thinkers were influenced by their dogmas, even when not actual converts.

Least of all was it an age of illiteracy. The ancient South Arab writing continued to be used. North Arabia employed Minaean, Thamudenic, Lihyanian, in the Safa east of the Hauran Allah was worshipped in the speech of the Koran, the grave of a Hira king bore an Arab inscription. Jews and Christians read their scriptures. If illiteracy was more than a pose with poets who basked in the courts of Hira and Ghassan, it was due to invincible ignorance and not to lack of opportunity.

The Arabs were being prepared for their high mission. The Great Dam of Marib broke and was followed by the breaking of the yet vaster dam of the great Arabian desert. Once more the Orient took its place at the front of advancing civilization.



## THE INDIC GOD AJA EKAPĀD, THE ONE-LEGGED GOAT

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THE NATURE of the mysterious Vedic god called Aja Ekapād, the one-footed or one-legged goat, has been explained in different ways. Roth, taking *aja*, not as "goat", but as "driver", sees in him the storm. Bergaigne, taking *aja* as "unborn", thinks he is the unborn god who dwells in the isolated world, in the place of mystery. Hardy finds in him the moon; Oldenberg, the mythical figure of a goat which holds apart the worlds. Macdonell suggests that the lightning is meant, the "goat" alluding to its agile swiftness in the cloud-mountains, and the one foot to the single streak which strikes the earth. And A. B. Keith accepts this hypothesis as satisfactory.<sup>1</sup>

According to Victor Henry and M. Bloomfield, Aja Ekapād is the sun; and their interpretation is almost certainly the correct one. The best proof for it is the following passage of the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa (III, 1, 2, 8): "Aja Ekapād has risen in the east, delighting all beings. At his urging, all the gods go." It also seems clear enough that Aja Ekapāda denotes the sun in the following passage of the Atharvaveda (XIII, 1, 6-7): "Rohita (the ruddy one, the sun-god) begot heaven and earth; there the Paramēsthin (the lord on high) stretched the thread. There Aja Ekapāda (the one-footed goat) fixed himself; by his strength he made firm heaven and earth. Rohita (the ruddy one, the sun god) made firm heaven and earth; by him the heavenly light was established, by him the firmament. By him the atmosphere and the spaces were measured out; through him the gods obtained immortality." And it must be noted that according to Durga, the commentator of the Nirukta, Aja Ekapād is a form of Agni or the sun.<sup>2</sup>

In the Ṛgveda, Aja Ekapād is mentioned five times with Ahi Budhnya (the Serpent of the Depth); he seems to be closely associated with him. He receives with him a formal share in the offering at a ceremony of the domestic ritual.<sup>3</sup> But Ahi Budhnya

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Comm. on Nirukta, XII, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, II, 15, 2.

is as mysterious as Aja Ekapād. The only definite traits of Ahi Budhnya are that he is born of the waters and dwells at the bottom of the streams.

If the god Aja Ekapād is a sun god, he perhaps has some connection with the god Pūṣan. I think that possibly the Vedic god Pūṣan, the god who is called the glowing one and who is the husband of the sun-maiden Sūryā, the god who preserves cattle, who is the guardian of the roads and is invoked as a guide, the god whose chariot is drawn by goats and to whom the goat is consecrated, originally was the same god as Aja Ekapād, the vegetation spirit identified with the sun and conceived in goat shape.

If the god Aja Ekapād is the sun, what does the one leg of this one-legged goat represent? Or, how was this one leg conceived? We may imagine, I think, that it was conceived as the necessary support of the sun, as a sort of pillar supported by the earth, rising with the sun in the morning, supporting it in its perilous journey through the sky, and coming down with it in the evening.

There is in the Śāntiparvan of the Mahābhārata an interesting passage concerning the sun (XII, 362, 7-8):

śukro nāmāsitaḥ pādo yaś ca vāridharo 'ṁbare  
toyaṁ srjati varṣāsu kim āścaryam ataḥ param  
yo 'ṣṭamāsāṁs tu śucinā kiraṇenokṣitaṁ payaḥ  
pratyādatte punaḥ kāle kim āścaryam ataḥ param

“Called the shining one, he who, as a dark foot (or as a dark ray), holds the water in the sky, he sends in showers the water in the rainy season—what can be more wonderful than that? But for eight months, with his shining ray, he takes back, in time, the water that was poured—what can be more wonderful than that?”

The meaning of these verses is not perfectly clear, but the author seems to have in mind that the sun, although he is called the shining one, has an *asita pāda* (a black foot or a black ray), that in the rainy season he pours the water, and that for eight months, he takes back, he sucks up, the water he has poured.

In reference to this passage Professor Jean Przyluski, in an article published in the *Bulletin of Oriental Studies* (Vol. VII, p. 456) says: “Suivant l'épopée, le soleil est formé de deux parties: l'une lumineuse qui nous éclaire, et l'autre obscure qu'on appelle son pied (*pāda*). Au moyen de ce pied, il pompe l'eau pendant huit mois et la fait ensuite retomber en pluie pendant

quatre mois. Ce dernier mythe a pu être suggéré aux populations de l'Asie des moussons par le spectacle des trombes.<sup>4</sup> Pour expliquer ce phénomène, ainsi que les averses continues de la saison pluvieuse, on disait que les eaux d'en bas étaient aspirées vers le ciel par l'animal solaire pendant la saison sèche, et cette croyance trouvait d'ailleurs confirmation dans un fait périodiquement observé: c'est dans le temps où le soleil brille avec le plus d'éclat que les réservoirs, étangs, cours d'eau décroissent et tarissent comme si l'astre pompait l'élément humide."

On the other hand Professor Przyluski notes that in some Indian tales we are told that an animal of golden color (a bird or a flying deer), which, of course, is the sun, flies every day in order to reach the top of a lofty tree. For instance, in a tale of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghikas, a hunter sees the king of the deer who comes through the air and perches on a nyagrodha-tree. His body spread a light that illuminated the ravines of the mountains.

Professor Przyluski concludes: "On avait donc, d'une part, le mythe du soleil qui aspire les eaux et, d'autre part, celui de l'animal solaire placé à la cime de l'arbre qui s'élève au centre du monde. Le monstre védique Aja Ekapād paraît dû à la superposition de ces deux images. Pāda signifiant pied et support convenait bien pour désigner le perchoir de l'animal solaire et le pédoncule par où le soleil aspire les eaux terrestres. D'autres circonstances ont dû contribuer au choix du mot pāda. L'arbre est appelé en sanskrit *pādapa* 'qui boit par le pied' parce que ce végétal absorbe l'eau de la terre et la fait monter dans son tronc. C'est précisément en petit la fonction de l'arbre cosmique, support ou pied du soleil."

This hypothesis of Professor Przyluski is very ingenious, and I am inclined to accept it. But it is still uncertain on account of the obscurity of the text on which it is founded. It is not certain that, in the quoted passage of the Mahābhārata, Aja Ekapād is meant.

There is another passage of the Mahābhārata in which we find Aja Ekapād (V, 114, 1-4):

nirmitaṃ vahninā bhūmau vāyunā śodhitam tathā  
yasmād dhiraṇmayam sarvaṃ hiraṇyam tena cocyate  
dhatte dhārayate cedam etasmāt kāraṇād dhanam

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<sup>4</sup> Some interesting mythological tales concerning the origin of the water spouts are related in Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'or*, texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, I, pp. 266-270.

tad etat triṣu lokeṣu dhanam tiṣṭhati śāśvatam  
nityam proṣṭhapadābhyam ca śukre dhanapatau tathā  
manuṣyebhyaḥ samādatte śukraś cittārjitam dhanam  
ajaiḥkapād-ahirbudhnyai rakṣyate dhanadena ca

This passage is obscure and probably corrupt, but it is interesting. According to it, wealth is gold. It is created in the earth by Fire, and purified by Wind. It supports the world and sustains it, and for that reason it is called *dhana*. And it is guarded by Aja Ekapād (the one-footed goat) and by Ahi Budhnya (the Serpent of the Depth), and by the Lord of Wealth (Kubera).

Here again Aja Ekapād is associated with Ahi Budhnya, and on the other hand both divinities are considered as the guardians of the gold that is buried in the earth.

In other passages of the Mahābhārata, Aja is one of the names of the sun, and Ekapād is one of the names of Viṣṇu, who himself is identified with the sun (Mbh. III, 3, 6; XIII, 149, 95).

Now, as it seems that there are reminiscences of the old Vedic solar myth of Aja Ekapād in the Mahābhārata, we may hope to find also reminiscences of it in the later story-literature; and, as a matter of fact, I think I have found such reminiscences in a tale of the collection called Vikramādityacarita, "The Adventures of Vikramāditya."

Here is the tale, that is, the story told by the eighteenth statuette, according to Professor Edgerton's translation of the metrical recension:

"Now once on a time a certain wise saint came to see the king, and at his command sat down, pronouncing blessings. 'Tell me what strange thing you have seen.' Thus urged in a kindly manner, he told the king a wondrous thing which he had seen. 'Near the Sunrise Mountain there is a city Kanaka-prabha (Gold-splendor), where there is a temple of the god of gods, the Sun. In front of it there flows a certain river named Sūryaprabhā (Sun-splendor). This is the holy ford, Purger from Sin, which has satisfied great numbers of petitioners. . . . In the middle of the deep water of this holy place there is a golden pillar with a solid throne upon it, of divine workmanship. It comes up every day, sire, just after the rising of the sun, and rejoicing reaches the sun's orb at mid-day. And again following it on its way back, after noon, when the sun sinks in the west, the pillar sinks with it into the

water. This marvelous thing have I seen, sire, at the holy watering-place. . . .’

“Hearing the words of the saint, the lion of kings, possessed of perfect and unique valor, became curious, and went to see this pillar. There the king saw the city called Gold-splendor, with its golden watch-towers and shining golden gates. Thereupon, with devoted mind, he bathed in the wave-garlanded river which was called Sun-splendor, and which was renowned as a Purger from Sin. And the pious king paid his respects with flowers to the Sun-god, the Lord of Cattle, and abode by night in that god’s temple in fasting and abstinence. Arising at dawn he cheerfully performed his religious duties and minor observances in the watering place Purger from Sin, and paid his honors to the Sun. At that very moment, that golden pillar arose out of the midst of the water before the king’s eyes. Leaping up easily, he took his place upon it, and the column swiftly went up to the Sun as it mounted to the middle of the heaven. And burnt with the Sun’s rays as he was, the king praised the Sun with a holy text. When the Lord of Lights (the Sun) saw the king standing near at hand on the pillar, offering praises and humbly putting his folded hands to his head, and scorched with the flames, then the Sun, remover of the pain of the afflicted, welcomed him and said with kindly words: ‘Good Sir, by the grace of God you are alive; how else could one live, burned by the Sun’s rays? I am pleased with you; accept my two rings, from the splendor of whose rubies I derive the splendor of the dawn. Every day they furnish a load of fairest gold pieces.’ So saying the god gave him the two rings and departed.

“At sunset the king dived from the pillar into that water, and descended below, desiring to find where it came from. And in the lower world, from which it came, he beheld the goddess Prabhā (Splendor), the mother of the world and beloved of the Sun, the god of gods. And he stood making obeisance to her, the bride of the Sun, with perfect courtesy. The goddess Prabhā with gracious favor gave him a divine amulet, which granted all ornaments that might be desired. He bowed to her again and again and went out from the goddess’s presence. But near her, upon a golden altar, he saw the same golden pillar, provided at night with a flaming column and recognized its quality. And mounting upon it again at dawn, when it rose as before at sunrise out of the Sun-splendor river, the king leapt off from the pillar, and gained the shore of the pond.”

It is remarkable, I think, that the few traits of the myth of Aja Ekapād we have found in the Veda and in the Mahābhārata have their parallels in this tale, if we admit, as is almost certain, that Aja Ekapād is the Sun.

The golden pillar that comes up every day just after the rising of the sun, reaches the sun's orb at mid-day, and again, following it on its way back when the sun sinks in the west, sinks with it into the water—that golden pillar seems to have been inspired by a reminiscence of the one leg conceived as the support of the solar deity Aja Ekapād.

As Aja Ekapād is associated with Ahi Budhnya, the Serpent of the Depth, which is born in the water and dwells at the bottom of the streams, here in this tale, the Sun-god, the Lord of Cattle, is associated with the goddess Prabhā, who is his beloved and dwells in the lower world, in the middle of the deep water, in the river named Sūryaprabhā, in the place where, on a golden altar, the golden pillar of the Sun rises.

And as in the Mahābhārata Aja Ekapād and Ahi Budhnya are the guardians of gold and wealth, so here, in this tale, the Sun-god and the deity associated with him are the dispensers of gold and wealth.

One may object that if there are similarities between the tale of the Vikramādityacarita and the old Vedic myth, those similarities are vague; that, in the tale, the golden pillar which rises with the sun is not the support or the foot of the sun, and that, in the tale, the deity, which is connected with the Sun-god and dwells in the deep water of the river Sūryaprabhā, is not a serpent. But it is only natural, I believe, that the old myth should have undergone some deformation by the fact that it was incorporated into a tale. In my opinion, the tale certainly contains allusions to an old solar myth, and I believe that notwithstanding a few discrepancies, the traits I have indicated may reasonably be considered as reminiscences of the old Vedic myth of Aja Ekapād, especially if the hypothesis concerning the interpretation of that god as the Sun, and of his one leg as a sort of pillar supporting him, can be strengthened by other considerations.

If the god Aja Ekapād is the Sun and if, as I have supposed, his one foot or leg is a sort of pillar which supports the sun in its journey through the sky, this interpretation of the Vedic myth may throw some light on the interpretation of the swastika and similar

old solar symbols, and on the other hand, these symbols may be considered as supporting the proposed interpretation of Aja Ekapād.

These symbols consist of a center from which radiates a variable number of lines, curving to the left or to the right, or straight but provided with a hook turned to the left or to the right. One branch may end in the head of an animal, or every branch may be furnished with the head of the same animal. Sometimes the branches of the symbol are provided with the head of a bird, a cock or a duck—for instance, in the Lycian coins of the Achaemenian period;<sup>5</sup> sometimes they are provided with, or formed by, the head of a horse.<sup>6</sup> Often they are provided with, or formed by, the head of a horned animal, a bull, a unicorn, an antelope, or a goat;<sup>7</sup> and it is well known that in the mythology the sun is often represented by a horned animal. In the Vedic literature the goat is several times identified with Agni (the Fire god), and Agni as the heavenly one is the sun. The swastika is almost certainly a solar symbol. Already long ago L. Müller and E. Thomas considered it as a representation of the sun. E. Thomas says: "As far as I have been able to trace and connect the various manifestations of this emblem, they one and all resolve themselves into the primitive conception of solar motion, which was intuitively associated with the rolling or wheel-like projection of the sun through the upper or visible arc of the heavens, as understood and accepted in the crude astronomy of the ancients."<sup>8</sup>

According to this interpretation, it seems that if the symbol has three, four, or six branches, and if those branches curve to the left or to the right, it is only in order to give the idea of solar motion; and it consequently seems that the sun, represented by the hook or by the head of an animal is conceived as having only one support which moves with it. This one support, which moves with the sun, may be considered as the one leg of the solar animal or solar god.

Besides the swastika there is another solar symbol which, in my

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus*, Vol. I, p. 301, figs. 231 and 232.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. The Achaemenian seals in Leon Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians* (Philadelphia, 1925), Plate LV, figs. 877, 882, 883, 885.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Leon Legrain, *ibidem*, Plate LV, figs. 869, 870, 874-6, 879, 880, 881, 884. Cf. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro*, Vol. III, Plate CXII, fig. 383.

<sup>8</sup> E. Thomas, *The Indian Swastika and its Western Counterparts* (*Num. Chron.*, New Series, 1880, XX, 18-48). Cf. also L. Müller, *La croix gammée* (Copenhagen, 1877) and A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, Vol. I, p. 300 ff.

opinion, may be considered as also supporting my interpretation of the myth of Aja Ekapād, although it is not an Indic but a Greek symbol. The examples of that symbol are a whole series of bronzes found at Kameiros in graves which contained geometric pottery of the seventh century B. C.

Arthur Bernard Cook describes them in the following way: "The bronzes are in the form of a wheel with four, six, seven, eight or nine spokes, from the center of which rises a shaft supporting either a duck or the heads of two animals *adossés*. The animals thus combined are mostly *goats*, but cows, rams and asses (?) also occur." And he adds: "Since the principal cult of the early Rhodians was that of Helios, it can hardly be doubted that the wheel probably represents the sun. And it is reasonable to conjecture that the animals placed upon the solar wheel are in some sense devoted to Helios."<sup>9</sup> I should say that the wheel probably represents the motion of the sun, that the two goat heads probably represent the sun itself, *i. e.*, the morning sun and the evening sun, and that the one shaft which supports the two goat heads possibly represents the one leg of the solar animal or solar god. This symbol, which, it is true, has not been found in India, seems to be a perfectly adequate representation of the Indic god Aja Ekapād, the one-legged goat.

The idea that the sun may need a support in its journey through the sky seems to be a natural idea of primitive people.<sup>10</sup> This support may have been conceived as a sort of pillar or as the one leg of the solar animal. The Vedic god called the one-legged goat, the god who rises in the east, seems to be the sun. The passage of the Mahābhārata quoted above seems to contain an allusion to the foot or leg of the sun. The story of the Vikramādityacarita, in which the few traits of the myth of Aja Ekapād seem to have parallels, tells that a golden pillar comes up every day just after the rising of the sun, reaches the sun's orb at mid-day, and following it on its way back, sinks with it into the water; the idea of the pillar seems to have been inspired by a reminiscence of the one leg

<sup>9</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, Vol. I, p. 331, figs. 261, 262, 263.

<sup>10</sup> "In the higher Peruvian symbolism, the sun was tied by an invisible cord to the invisible pole of the sky, and was driven round it like a llama by the power of the Universal Spirit, although generally, after passing over the sky, he was thought to enter a cave in the west and to proceed by a subterranean passage to emerge next morning in the east." (Stansbury Hagar in Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, article "Sun," Vol. XII, p. 68a).



of Aja Ekapād conceived as the support of the solar deity. Finally some archaeological motifs, which are solar symbols, seem to be an adequate representation of the myth of Aja Ekapād, the sun being represented by a goat's head, the solar motion by the solar wheel, and the support of the sun, or the one leg of the goat, by the shaft that supports the goat's head.

Considered singly the arguments which have been expounded may not seem sufficiently convincing, but together they give one another such mutual support that the hypothesis presented seems at least probable.

P. S. Professor W. Norman Brown has drawn my attention to the columns of Asoka, and Buddhist monuments of Sāñcī and Amarāvātī in which we see a wheel supported by a column.<sup>11</sup> In those monuments, according to Buddhist iconography, the wheel represents the Law of the Buddha or the Buddha himself. But the worshippers of the Buddha undoubtedly borrowed it from an older symbolism.<sup>12</sup> In one of the Buddhist monuments of Amarāvātī, we find it accompanied by the swastika.<sup>13</sup> Since the wheel originally was a solar symbol, I think that we may consider the fact that the wheel in these Buddhist monuments of Sāñcī and Amarāvātī is supported by a column, which sometimes is made of or surrounded by flames, as a reminiscence of the old myth of the one-legged Sun-god.

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<sup>11</sup> See V. A. Smith, *History of the Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 1911, pp. 59, 60; James Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1868, Plate XLII, figs. 1, 2, 3; Pl. LXXI, fig. 2; Pl. LXXII, fig. 2; Plates LXXXIX, XCIV, and XCVIII.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Albert Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, p. 67.

<sup>13</sup> See James Fergusson, *ibidem*, Plate LXXXVII, fig. 4.

## THE DEATH OF SENNACHERIB \*

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No OTHER foreign king left such a profound impression upon the mind of the Hebrew people as Sennacherib, king of Assyria. His withdrawal from Palestine is still an unsolved mystery, but the enormous effect of this retirement upon the Jewish people's faith in the power of Yahweh to deliver them from even the most formidable of foes can hardly be overestimated. We do not propose here to examine the whole Biblical narrative of 2 Kings 18-19.<sup>1</sup> Our interest is centered entirely on the statements with which it concludes: "So Sennacherib, king of Assyria, departed and went and dwelt again at Nineveh. And it came to pass as he was worshipping at the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer<sup>2</sup> smote him with the sword, and they escaped to the country of Ararat and Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead," 2 Kings 19:36-37.

The classic brevity and conciseness of this biblical account has caused scholars to use it as a historical source and to combine it or harmonize it with the other available evidence. But the historicity of the Biblical statement can by no means be assumed a priori. The author's knowledge rests on a version of the events in question which evidently was handed about among the peoples of the East. How correct it is can only be determined from cuneiform sources.

The biblical account implies that Sennacherib was murdered at Nineveh. To assume as is done by Schmidtke that we must imagine a hiatus between "dwelt at Nineveh. . . . And it came to pass", so that the murder may be considered to have taken place elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> is to impute something to the author that he did not mean. The information may have reached him in a garbled or

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\* This paper has been written in honor of the seventieth birthday of Professor Richard J. Gottheil.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Honor, *Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine*, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> The text of Isaiah adds "his sons"; so also many manuscripts and the versions. But Sharezer was probably not a son (cf. note 32).

<sup>3</sup> Schmidtke, *Assarhaddon's Statthalterschaft in Babylonien und seine Thronbesteigung in Assyrien*, 681 v. Chr., 1916.

incomplete form, but it was clearly his understanding that the mighty Sennacherib was murdered at the great city, for only in his own capital can we expect to find the "house of his god", i. e. his particular god from among a larger number of gods.

It is of some importance, then, to determine what Assyrian god is meant by "Nisroch". Anyone familiar with the oft repeated words *ina tukulti Ašur belija*, "trusting in Ashur my lord", in Sennacherib's own inscriptions would be inclined to think the name נִסְרֹךְ a corruption of אֲסַר. But it is difficult on this basis to explain a change of א to נ and to account for the superfluous final ך. Furthermore we do not know of the existence of an Ashur temple at Nineveh. The official shrine of that god was at the city of Ashur. So "Ashur" appears to be out of the question.

The reference to a *temple* of a certain god bespeaks fairly good local knowledge on the part of the tradition. However vague the information of the Jews may have been, there is no doubt that the people knew a little something about Nineveh and the gods worshipped there. Now there were three temples at this capital: the temple of Ishtar, the temple of Nabu, and the temple of Kidmuri.<sup>4</sup> One might be inclined to reason from the LXX forms ECΔPAX or ECΘPAX that the name concealed in Nisroch is Ishtar (i. e. אִסְתָּר or עִסְתָּר).<sup>5</sup> But unquestionably the LXX translators had the same form before them as our M. T. now contains. נִסְרֹךְ could readily become ECΔPAX for Δ and N are frequently confused and change of position in a consonant is common enough in names. Since Δ and Θ are likewise frequently interchanged, ECΘPAX is clearly secondary. The Ishtar temple therefore seems to be ruled out, along with the temple of Kidmuri, as the latter name likewise could not very well have been corrupted into Nisroch. This leaves us only the temple of Nabu.

But how shall we connect Nisroch with Nabu? Two of the suggestions advanced long since to explain the name Nisroch permit such a connection. The first is that "Nisroch" is to be read "Nimrod". This seems excellent on the one hand in view of the fact that Assyria was in a particular sense the land of Nimrod

<sup>4</sup> Cf. especially R. C. Thompson and A. R. Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh*, 1929.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, 1898, 345. The Canaanite נִסְרֹךְ is not derived from the Assyrian Istar, as the ך shows.

(Mi. 5:5), but on the other hand the tradition of the Hebrews does not seem to imply that Nimrod was regarded by them as a god (cf. Gen. 10:8 f.). And yet the latter thought would provide an excellent reason why the name Nimrod could be misread by some one for whom a god Nimrod was a stumbling-block. Graphically, too, the corruption of נמרד to נסרך would be easily comprehensible. Confusion of the letters מ and ס, ד and כ occurs in the Old Testament as may be seen from the data given by Delitzsch.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore the vowels of Nisroch certainly look like a q'rē of "Nimrod". Now Jensen long since connected Nimrod with Nimurta, who as son of the Assyrian Ellil (i. e. Ashur) had the same significance for Assyria that Nabu had for Babylonia.<sup>7</sup> "Temple of Nimrod" might thus have been a popular Hebrew term for the temple of Nabu at Nineveh.

The second suggestion is that of Winckler that Nisroch is an error for Marduk.<sup>8</sup> Winckler inferred from this hypothesis (in combination with a cuneiform passage to be considered later) that the murder of Sennacherib took place at Babylon. But the name מרדך would not compel us to associate the murder with the city of this god. When Sennacherib destroyed Babylon in 689 B. C., he carried off the idol of Marduk to Nineveh, and since the god Nabu, in the Babylonian pantheon, was the faithful scribe of Marduk, the latter was naturally housed in the temple of the former. This temple was thenceforth known as "the temple of Nabu and Marduk". Thus it is quite conceivable that Sennacherib could have worshipped Marduk, the god whose far-famed power he had appropriated for himself, at the city of Nineveh. The theory, therefore, is an extremely attractive one. Winckler's explanation of the change from מרדך to נסרך, however, is fantastic. He regards נסרך as an intentional corruption of the pagan divine name, effected by the device of using the next alphabetic letter נ for מ, ש for ד (replaced later by ס) in the case of the first two consonants, while the third consonant כ is merely an error for ד. But the reference to Ebed-nego (= Ebed Nebo) as an example of a corruption of the name of a god is scarcely convincing,

<sup>6</sup> Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament*, 1920, pp. 119, 120.

<sup>7</sup> This is pointed out by Ungnad, *OLZ*, 1917, 358.

<sup>8</sup> Schrader, *KAT*<sup>3</sup> 85.

for here there was a motive involved for such a change, since the person in question was supposedly a faithful Jew. There seems to be no good reason for intentionally corrupting the name of Sennacherib's god. If Nisroch was derived from Marduk it could only be a case of scribal error. A mistake of this kind would be very natural in this case since the episode of Marduk's sojourn at the Assyrian capital was lost sight of, and it would have seemed erroneous to later generations to read that Sennacherib worshipped in the house of Marduk at Nineveh. Graphically, however, the corruption of מרדך to נסרך is not quite so easily explainable as that of נמרר, for while initial נ for מ causes no difficulties,<sup>9</sup> a confusion of ר and ס seems to be without precedent.

It may never be possible to decide which of these two theories is right, but the historical result is the same, viz., that according to the tradition embodied in 2 Kings 19:37 Sennacherib was slain while prostrating himself in the temple of Nabu at Nineveh.

The question now arises does this tradition coincide with the cuneiform evidence?

Our knowledge of the events of the time rests above all on the so-called broken prism of Esarhaddon.<sup>10</sup> In the excavations conducted at Kouyunjik by R. C. Thompson, 1927-28, there was discovered a perfect copy of this great Esarhaddon prism, which was found in a building that bore the name "The house which Sennacherib built for his son".<sup>11</sup> Thompson gives in translation all that portion of the text which is of importance for our particular problem.

"Palace of Esarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, regent of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions; the legitimate ruler, favourite of the great gods whose name from his youth up Ashur, Shamash, Bel and Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, for the kingship of Assyria had proclaimed. Of my elder brothers the younger brother was I; (but) by the ordinance of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel and Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, (my)

<sup>9</sup> Delitzsch, p. 116.

<sup>10</sup> III Rawlinson. 15, supplemented by Prism S, cf. Scheil, "Le Prisme S. D'Assaraddon," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 208, 1914; cp. Schmidtke, p. 90.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. p. 83 f.

father who begat me exalted me in all due right amid a gathering of my brothers (and) my nobles and (spake) thus; 'Is this the son of my succession?' He asked Shamash and Adad by oracle, and with a true affirmative they answered him, 'He is thy second self'. To their weighty utterance he paid (due) honour, and he summoned together the people of Assyria, small (and) great, my brothers, the seed of my father's house; in the presence of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Nabu, Marduk, the gods of Assyria, the gods dwelling in heaven and earth, with regard to the securing of my legitimate succession he made them recite their solemn utterance. In a propitious month, on a favourable day according to their exalted command into the House of Succession, (that) place of awe, wherein is appanage of royalty, I entered with joy, and the true fact of the succession was forced upon my brothers, and they deserted the (way) of the gods and trusted to their own violent deeds and plotted evil, an evil tongue, slander, ways not according to the will of the gods; they set afoot, too, against me unholy disloyalty; they planned rebellion with each other behind my back. (Any) who interpreted my father's will, him they made angry against me, contrary to the gods; (any) who was cunning of heart, him they treated kindly, his apparent intent being kept up as though to support my royalty. In my heart I communed and pondered in my soul thus: 'Their works are violent and to their own wit they trust, and, against the gods, they will wreak my evil.' Ashur, the merciful king of the gods (and) Marduk, to whom worthlessness is their abomination—with prayers, lamentation and prostration I implored them, and they accepted my utterances; according to the wisdom of the great gods, my lords, before the work of evil they let me dwell in a secret place and spread their kindly aegis over me and guarded me for my kingdom. Thereafter, my brothers went mad, and did everything which was wicked against gods and men, and plotted evil; drew also the sword in the midst of Nineveh godlessly; to exercise the kingship with each other they broke loose like young steers. Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, looked with wrath on the deeds of the scoundrels which had been wrought against the will of the gods, nor did they help them, (but) brought their strength to weakness and humbled them beneath me. The people of Assyria, who had sworn the great oath of the

great gods with oil and water to guard my fealty, went not to their aid. I, Esarhaddon, one who by the help of the great gods, my lords, hath not turned his back in the midst of battle, speedily heard of their wicked deeds and, crying 'Woe!' rent my princely robe and uttered lamentation. Like a lion I roared and my spirit was stirred. To wield the sway of kingship of my father's house I exercised (?) my right of priesthood; to Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabu and Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela I raised my hands and they received my prayer with favour; with their true 'Yea' they vouchsafed me a helpful oracle thus 'Go, stay thyself not: we will march at thy side and destroy thine enemies.'"

It is rather surprising that this text in its complete form contains no direct reference to the murder of Sennacherib, as Schmidtke<sup>12</sup> had assumed that it must. Nevertheless in our opinion the murder of Sennacherib, is implied in the words: "Thereafter my brothers went mad and did everything which was wicked against gods and men and plotted evil; drew also the sword in the midst of Nineveh godlessly; to exercise the kingship with each other they broke loose like young steers."

Doubtless the slaying of Sennacherib was followed also by a great many executions of loyal officials and retainers. We can well imagine that the conditions of civil war reigning after the murder of Sennacherib were such that Esarhaddon could well be impressed more by this circumstance than by the death of his father. Certainly, if we possessed only this text, we should not be inclined to seek for any other place as scene of this crime than the capital Nineveh. Nor does the statement of the Babylonian chronicle suggest any different conclusion when it says, Col. III, 34-35, "On the 20 Tebet his son killed Sennacherib, king of Assyria, in a rebellion." Indeed, it seems most attractive to connect this "rebellion" with the tumult at Nineveh of which the prism of Esarhaddon speaks. Strong evidence will have to be adduced to prove the contrary.

Before proceeding to consider the passage which is thought to prove that Sennacherib was slain at Babylon, it will be well to call to memory the general situation as it concerns that city. Babylon

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<sup>12</sup> P. 95, l. 46. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, 1923, 338, accepts this without even a question mark.

and its priesthood had long been a thorn in the flesh of the Assyrian kings. Though its political power had been lost since the Cassite age, it possessed a claim to greatness that rested on its mighty past. Religious theory had made Marduk the supreme god, and required that a legitimate sovereign must be recognized by him. This necessitated the confirmation of Assyrian kings by Marduk, and thus led to the attempt of the hierarchy of Babylon to dominate. If the Assyrian king did not satisfy this group and its claims, he faced constant trouble from that quarter, and since the Elamites were always willing to make common cause against Assyria, the rulers of that land were faced with a very disagreeable situation. At the time of Sennacherib Babylon proved to be especially recalcitrant. There was great unrest in that quarter, and the priesthood of Esagila even went so far as to take some of Marduk's treasure to buy the help of Elam. After an initial reverse Sennacherib overcame his adversaries, and then in Kislev 689 captured Babylon. Deciding to settle the matter for all time he destroyed the ancient city, slaughtered the inhabitants, and deflected the course of the Arahtu canal so that it flowed over the city. Babylonia was annexed as a province.<sup>13</sup>

It must have been soon after that Sennacherib decided to have Esarhaddon appointed as his successor. Unfortunately we have no clue as to the motives of this extremely hazardous act.<sup>14</sup> Esarhaddon was not the oldest son, for in 694 we find a certain Ardi-Ninlil designated as *māru rabū* or crown prince. A solemn act of state was necessary to bring about the change. First, as the prism relates, Shamash and Adad were asked in a family convocation to indicate their approval. When this was obtained, a great national assembly was summoned and the promise of loyalty to Esarhaddon exacted. Thereupon the new crown prince entered the *bīt ridūti* or house of succession, i. e. the palace of the crown prince.<sup>15</sup>

The prism indicates that the intrigues of his brothers commenced immediately after Esarhaddon's appointment. It seems

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<sup>13</sup> The supposition that Esarhaddon was governor of Babylonia (Winckler, Schmidtke, Olmstead) rests on flimsy evidence. Cf. Landsberger-Bauer, *ZA*, 1927, 72.

<sup>14</sup> The Aramaean mother of Esarhaddon, Naḫia, seems to have played an important rôle in the matter. Cf. Schmidtke, p. 124 f. The whole situation reminds one of the story of I Kings 1.

<sup>15</sup> Schmidtke, pp. 82 n., 93 n. and Streck, *Assurbanipal*, 568 f.



difficult, however, to believe that Sennacherib did not keep a firm grip on his court and on his people during his lifetime. Certain statements of the prism must therefore be understood as reflecting the reports that reached Esarhaddon, who seems to have dwelt at Zakkap,<sup>16</sup> of the secret machinations that were set on foot in Nineveh during his absence. That they caused him a lot of worry we may well believe. But on the surface calm must have prevailed. Sennacherib can hardly have thought that his dissatisfied sons would attempt to assassinate him, else he would have taken precaution against them.

The intrigues of Esarhaddon's brothers were aided and abetted by a faction of army officers, for we are specifically told in S, Col. II, 14 f.,<sup>17</sup> " (Those) soldiers, the criminals, who in order to exercise the sovereignty of Assyria had incited my brothers to evil, their assembly like one man I mustered, heavy penance I imposed on them, I destroyed their seed." It would be a mistake however to assume that this implied the disloyalty of the whole army. A large part of it was no doubt with Esarhaddon who was carrying out a campaign when the rebellion broke out, and we are told that when Esarhaddon, cutting short that expedition, marched on Nineveh and met the rebels in battle in Hanigalbat, the greater part of the forces under the command of his brothers went over to his side. Assyria submitted on the 2nd of Adar 681 after one and a half months of uncertainty.<sup>18</sup>

It seems apparent once more that all the events center at Nineveh. But in order to satisfy the requirements of a passage in an inscription of Ashurbanipal which seems to imply that Sennacherib was murdered at Babylon, a peculiar hypothesis has to be invented. Schmidtke, who has dealt most elaborately with this subject, thinks that Esarhaddon when confronted with the danger of disloyalty in Assyria began to extend the Babylonians promises of rebuilding Babylon. He even goes so far as to suppose that Sennacherib changed his attitude and went to Babylon to win the Babylonians for his and Esarhaddon's cause.<sup>19</sup> At this point the biblical text

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<sup>16</sup> Schmidtke, p. 107, letter of Belušeizib (Harper 1216).

<sup>17</sup> Scheil, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Babylonian Chronicle III, 36 f.: "From the 20th Tebet to the 2nd Adar rebellion was maintained in Assyria." On the march to Nineveh and the decisive battle cf. the "Broken Prism" I 66 f. (Schmidtke, p. 96).

<sup>19</sup> Schmidtke, p. 83.

of 2 Kings 19: 37 has to supply the proof, for, accepting Winckler's theory that Nisroch is Marduk, he immediately assumes with that scholar that this refers to Babylon and concludes that only an especial occasion of state can have led him thither, viz. the laying of the foundation stone of the temple of Marduk, which implies the permission to rebuild Babylon. At this occasion, then, he was murdered.

But there are grave points of weakness in this theory. Schmidtke himself admits that Esarhaddon cannot at first have been so very friendly to Babylonia, for in the inscriptions from his *rēš šarrūti* (i. e. the months of his reign prior to the first New Year festival in 681) he condemns the policy of Babylon and declares the destruction of the city to be a punishment of the gods because of the purchase of Elamite help with the aid of the treasure of the temple.<sup>20</sup> But that *it was suggested* to Esarhaddon that he should rebuild Babylon seems clear from the statement in the letter of Nergal-šezib and from the prediction which the latter claims to have made, "he will build Babylon, complete Esagila."<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, we are told that already during his *rēš šarrūti* the oracles indicated the rebuilding of Babylon.<sup>22</sup> The actual rebuilding seems to have begun in 680, for according to the Black Stone inscription, col. II, 12 f.: "10 years had he (Marduk) determined as the time of its disintegration. The merciful Marduk was calmed in his heart and that which is uppermost he turned underneath. In the 11th year I commanded its rebuilding." Whether or not Esarhaddon sought the support of the priesthood of Babylon prior to his father's death is uncertain. It seems more logical to suppose that he extended a promise to the Babylonians as the price of neutrality when he marched against his brothers. That he subsequently found the enthusiastic support of the Babylonians is evident from the letter of Ubaru.<sup>23</sup> But what seems utterly impossible is that Sennacherib should have reversed himself and gone to Babylon to lay the foundation stone of the temple. In the first place it is not in the nature of such men as he to back down, and in the second place the restoration could not possibly have progressed far enough at the time of his

<sup>20</sup> Black Stone Inscription, col. I, 19-22, Meissner and Rost, "Bauinschriften Asarhaddon's," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* III; cp. Schmidtke, p. 81.

<sup>21</sup> Harper no. 1216, obv. 15, cp. Schmidtke, 106.

<sup>22</sup> Schmidtke, p. 113 f.

<sup>23</sup> Harper, 418; cp. Schmidtke, p. 114.

death to permit the offering up of royal sacrifices at Esagila. Nor is there any need for trying to discover an anti-Babylonian motive on the part of the king's murderers and their military associates at Nineveh.<sup>24</sup> The injustice done the legitimate crown-prince by the preferment of Esarhaddon is entirely sufficient to explain what occurred.

We must now turn and examine the Ashurbanipal passage that has been referred to above. It is found in the Rassam Cylinder col. IV 70 f., where the king after speaking of the capture of Babylon says: "si-it-ti nišē bal-tu-sun ina <sup>1</sup>šēdi <sup>1</sup>lamassi ša <sup>m(il)</sup>Sin-aḫē-eriba ab abi bani-ja ina lib-bi is-pu-nu e-nin-na a-na-ku ina ki-is-pi-šu nišē ša-a-tu-nu ina lib-bi as-pu-un." This is commonly rendered: "The rest of the people, alive, by the *šēdu* and *lamassu* where they had slain my grandfather Sennacherib,—at that time unto his sacrifice I slew those people there."<sup>25</sup> This statement seemed so clear that Winckler and Schmidtke thought it definitely proved that Sennacherib died at Babylon.

The customary translation of this passage has recently, however, been attacked by Landsberger-Bauer.<sup>26</sup> According to them *ina* in the words "*ina* <sup>1</sup>šēdi <sup>1</sup>lamassi" must be rendered instrumentally: "Den Rest der Leute liess ich mit Hilfe der Steinfiguren durch die sie meinen leiblichen Grossvater vernichtet hatten, jetzt bei lebendigem Leibe die gleiche Behandlung zu Teil werden, als Totenopfer für jenen." The thought that the colossi were tipped over upon the person of Sennacherib, and that Ashurbanipal should have done the same thing to the courtiers of Shamash-shum-ukin of Babylon sounds most unlikely. Nor is it possible to dismiss so lightly the statement of Nabonidus that Sennacherib's own son "killed him with a weapon".<sup>27</sup> These same authors subsequently suggested another translation which appears a little more reasonable:<sup>28</sup> "Geleitet von den gleichen Schutzgottheiten die den Sanherib bei seiner Verheerung (Babylon's) geleitet hatten, richtete ich jetzt an den übriggebliebenen Leuten bei lebendigem Leibe eine Verheerung an, dadurch jenem eine Totenfeier bereitend." But this translation, implying that Ashurbanipal in killing the Babylonians, was guided by the same protecting spirits (i. e. the *šēdu*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Schmidtke.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal* II. 39.

<sup>26</sup> Z.A. 1927, 67.

<sup>27</sup> Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königinschriften*, 272, col. I, 39.

<sup>28</sup> Z.A. 1927, 220.

and *lamassu*) as Sennacherib had been when he destroyed the city, seems forced and artificial. Anyone reading this text for the first time and without troubling himself about the historical problems involved in the situation would render the text as we have done above. There is no reason why *bal-tu-sun* should not refer to the captive condition as so often, e. g. *baṭussū ikšudūšu*, "they seized him alive". It seems very harsh, indeed, to connect it with the verb *spn* "overwhelm alive". And as for *ina*, its most common use is the designation of the place where something occurred. Hence it is apparent that Landsberger-Bauer are not primarily guided by philological reasons in dismissing the older translation of this passage. The real reason for their objection is the supposed historical difficulty of imagining that Ashurbanipal (by performing the sacrifice at the very place where Sennacherib had been slain) was avenging the murder of his grandfather on the Babylonians, whereas that murder was actually instigated by an anti-Babylonian, Assyrian military party, which resented a supposed change in Sennacherib's policy toward Babylonia. But the change of policy on the part of Sennacherib and the anti-Babylonian view-point of the military party are pure theory, without any evidence. And why assume that this act on the part of Ashurbanipal was an act of vengeance? Is not the sacrifice of men of Babel before the very *šēdu* and *lamassu* before which Sennacherib had been slain readily comprehensible without any other considerations?

A really important exegetical question, however, is whether the text implies that the slaying of the men of Babel took place at that city, or at Nineveh. If it took place in Babel this would by no means necessitate the inference of Winckler and Schmidtke that Sennacherib had also been slain there, for when that king destroyed the city he naturally must have taken the *šēdu* and *lamassu* of the Marduk temple to Nineveh and set them up in the temple of Nabu along with Marduk's own idol. One might assume, then, that it was while worshipping before these imported Babylonian *šēdu* and *lamassu* that the king was murdered. When Esarhaddon restored Babylon he must have brought these objects back again to Babylon just as Nebuchadrezzar brought back the *šēdu* and *lamassu* to Erech.<sup>29</sup> Ashurbanipal, entering Babylon could well recall the fact that it was before these *šēdu* and *lamassu* that his grandfather

<sup>29</sup> Cp. Langdon, p. 93. Ungnad, arguing in *OLZ*, 1917, 358, that *šēdu* and *lamassu* were unknown in Babylonia, evidently forgot about this passage.

Sennacherib had been slain during the period of their sojourn at Nineveh. But the Ashurbanipal passage could also simply mean that the king carried off the Babylonian captives and slaughtered them at Nineveh before the *šēdu* and *lamassu* of the temple of Nabu. Now in CT XXXV 13 f. a god addresses Ashurbanipal and points out how he helped him in his struggle against 'Shamas-shum-ukin of Babylon. Following Ungnad<sup>30</sup> we render it:<sup>24</sup> ina tukul-ti-ja rabī-ti ša mu-dāh-ši-e-šu tapdā-šu-nu taš-kun [si]-it-tū-ti bal-tu-su-un ina ka-tā-ja [ta-ap-ki-d (?) ]<sup>25</sup> qirib Ninua<sup>ki</sup> āl belū-ti-ka ina i[\*kak]kē<sup>meš</sup> ta-nir-šu-nu-ti.<sup>24</sup> "With my great help thou didst prostrate his warriors. The rest of them alive (thou didst give?) into my hands.<sup>25</sup> In thy royal city Nineveh thou didst slay them with weapons." The conclusion indeed seems almost inescapable that the *kispu*<sup>31</sup> referred to in the other text took place at Nineveh and that the *šēdu* and *lamassu* referred to there were *in situ* at that city. And Ungnad is right in asserting that this text definitely proves that Sennacherib died at Nineveh. The uncertainty about the matter was entirely due to the fact that Ashurbanipal did not find it necessary in the Rassam cylinder to allude particularly to the carrying off of the captives whom he slaughtered in memory of his grandfather.<sup>32</sup>

#### Addendum

The text of the prism of Esarhaddon has now been published by R. C. Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal*, London, British Museum, 1931. Cf. also B. Meissner, "Neue Nachrichten über die Ermordung Sancheribs und die Nachfolge Asarhaddons," *Sitzber. d. Pr. Ak. d. Wis.*, 1932, 250 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Ungnad, *ZA*, 1924, 50 f.

<sup>31</sup> The *kispu* is evidently more than a mere mortuary sacrifice. Since Sennacherib was entombed in the city of Ashur where his mausoleum (*ekal tapšūti*, Messerschmidt, *Keilinschriften aus Assur historischen Inhalts* I, no. 46 f.) stood, a real mortuary offering should have been brought at that place. This offering however is brought at the place where the blood was spilled.

<sup>32</sup> As to the slayers of Sennacherib, I can add nothing to the existing conjectures cited by Schmidtke, p. 111. Adrammelech is best identified with Ardi-Ninlil *māru rabū*, crown prince in 694, and Sharezer with Nabu-shar-uṣur. The thesis of Landsberger-Bauer *ZA*, 1927, 69, that Esarhaddon himself was the slayer of Sennacherib and that the biblical version of the names of the murderers goes back to a Babylonian version which white-washed the man who rebuilt Babylon, is without sufficient foundation.

## A PERPLEXING PASSAGE IN THE CONFUCIAN ANALECTS

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ONE OF the most baffling passages in the Confucian *Analects* is *Analects* IX, 1, which Legge translates: "The subjects of which the Master seldom spoke were—profitableness, and also the appointment (of Heaven), and perfect virtue" (*Tzu han yen, li, yü ming, yü jen*).<sup>1</sup> The difficulty here is not primarily a grammatical one, for such a translation may be read from the text without trouble, but rather lies in the fact that the statement made runs counter to everything that the rest of the *Analects* tells us concerning Confucius. It may be granted, to be sure, that *li*<sup>2</sup> (Legge's "profitableness") is not a subject that appears very frequently in the *Analects*. It is almost always disparaged, or attacked outright in the places where it does occur,<sup>3</sup> and in the one instance in which it is really regarded favorably, it assumes a special meaning having reference to public welfare.<sup>4</sup>

The same thing, however, can hardly be said about *ming*<sup>5</sup> (Legge's "appointments (of Heaven)"), which appears frequently in the *Analects* bearing the same metaphysical connotation that it possesses in this passage (as distinct from its other meanings, such as "command," "commission," "life," etc.).<sup>6</sup> But it is with the word *jen*<sup>7</sup> (Legge's "perfect virtue"), which forms the keystone of Confucian ethics, that the greatest obstacle to our understanding arises an obstacle so great as to force Legge to admit: "With his not speaking of *jen* there is a difficulty which I know not how to solve. The fourth Book is nearly all occupied with it and no doubt it was a prominent topic in Confucius's teachings."

Despite such a manifest contradiction between this single passage and the entire remainder of the *Analects*, western sinologists, such

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<sup>1</sup> 子罕言，利，與命，與仁。

<sup>2</sup> 利。

<sup>3</sup> *Ana.* IV, 12; 16; XIII, 17, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XX, 2.

<sup>5</sup> 命。

<sup>6</sup> *Ana.* II, 4; VI, 8; XI, 18; XII, 5; XVI, 8; XX, 3.

<sup>7</sup> 仁。

as Zottoli, Cuvreur, Chavannes, Soothill and Wilhelm, all translate in exactly the same manner as does Legge. So, for that matter, does the Chinese translator, Ku Hung-ming.<sup>8</sup> In this they are but following what the majority of Chinese scholars have long accepted as the orthodox interpretation.

Attempts, of course, have not been wanting to find a rational explanation for this puzzling passage. Thus, concerning the strange inclusion of the word *jen* ("perfect virtue"), Ho Yen of the Wei Dynasty (220-265 A. D.) says: "Few are able to attain to it [*jen*]. Therefore [Confucius] rarely spoke of it."<sup>9</sup> And Chu Hsi (1130-1200) writes in similar strain: "Ch'eng Tzu says 'Planning for profit is injurious to righteousness; the workings of heavenly decree are abstruse; the way of *jen* is vast. On all these the Master rarely spoke.'"<sup>10</sup>

But all this is merely explaining the language away. It is absurd to suppose that Confucius hesitated to impart even his most abstruse ideas to such a man as his beloved disciple Yen Hui, at whose death Confucius exclaimed, "Alas! Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!"<sup>11</sup> And the essential difficulty persists that *jen*, when all is said and done, remains one of the commonest topics to be found in the *Analects*.

The passage has been generally accepted by Chinese scholars as being free from textual corruption, and in Ssu-ma Ch'ien's *Shih chi* it appears word for word the same as in the *Analects*.<sup>12</sup> The problem lies, then, in finding a reading for the chapter which, without disturbing the existing text, will harmonize itself with what the remainder of the *Analects* tells us.

In the *Hsüeh chai chan pi*, a book of the Sung Dynasty, there seems to lie an answer to the problem, despite Wylie's condemnation of it as "only . . . a work of second rate standing."<sup>13</sup> This

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*, Cuvreur, *Les Quatres Livres*; Ku Hung-ming, *Discourses and Sayings of Confucius*; Soothill, *Analects of Confucius*; Wilhelm, *Kung-tse*. Also Zottoli, *Cursus Litteraturae Sinicae*, Vol. II, p. 279, and Chavannes; *Mémoires Historiques*, Vol. V, p. 405.

<sup>9</sup> 寡能及之。故希言也。

<sup>10</sup> 程子曰，計利則害義。命之理微。仁之道大。皆夫子所罕言也。

<sup>11</sup> *Ana.* XI, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, in note 8 above.

<sup>13</sup> Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 161 (1902 edition).

work, which appeared about the middle of the thirteenth century, was written by Shih Sheng-tsu,<sup>14</sup> a follower of Wei Liao-weng (1178-1237),<sup>15</sup> who is noted as being the founder of a school of classical criticism continuing the Confucian teachings of Chu Hsi. Though it deals for the most part with doubtful questions concerning the *I ching*, there is one section that specifically discusses the problem involved in *Analects* IX, 1.<sup>16</sup>

Concerning this passage, Shih Sheng-tsu points out the impossibility of the orthodox interpretation, following much the same reasoning as that given above, and then continues: "In short, what the Master rarely spoke on is profit and nothing more. From this clause [i. e., which begins with the beginning of the passage as a whole, and ends with the word *li*, (profit)] must be made a single [separate] meaning. As regards *ming* [heavenly decree] and *jen*, these are both what he [Confucius] constantly held forth upon. And this clause [i. e., which follows the word *li*, embraces these two terms, *ming* and *jen*, and extends to the end of the passage as a whole] forms a separate single meaning."<sup>17</sup> Shih Sheng-tsu then adds an important grammatical note: "The [two] characters *yü* [are to be taken in the sense of] *hsü* [a word which may be translated as "to allow," "grant," "give up to," etc.]."<sup>18</sup>

Thus what, according to the orthodox interpretation, is a single sentence, now becomes cut up into two entirely separated sentences through the mere insertion of a period instead of a comma after the character *li*; while the two *yü* characters, which served as connectives (Legge's "an also . . . and . . .") become verbs meaning "to give forth" or "share." Thus the passage, newly translated, becomes: "The Master rarely spoke of profit. (But) he gave forth (his ideas concerning) the appointments (of Heaven), (and also) gave forth (his ideas concerning) perfect virtue." This is not only grammatically correct, but gives a translation thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of the *Analects* as a whole.

<sup>14</sup> 學齋估畢. by 史繩祖. It appears in the 12th 集 of the 學津討原 (edited by 張海鵬), of which I have consulted the 昭曠閣刻本 edition, published in 1805.

<sup>15</sup> 魏子翁.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. section 子罕言利. in *chüan* 1, pp. 18b-19b.

<sup>17</sup> 蓋子罕言者, 獨利而已. 當以此句作一義. 曰命, 曰仁, 皆平日所深與. 此句別作一義.

<sup>18</sup> 與者, 許也.



To explain how the character *yü* may thus be metamorphosed from a conjunction into a verb, in what may seem to some a rather surprising fashion, Shih Sheng-tsu quotes analogous examples from the *Analepts*, which translated by Legge are: "There is nothing which I do that is not *shown to you*." "The Master said, 'I *admit* people's approach to me. . . . If a man purify himself . . . I *receive* him so purified.'" "The Master . . . said, 'I *give my approval to* Tien.'" "If I *associate* not with these people . . . with whom shall I *associate*?"<sup>19</sup> In these examples the character *yü* conveys the idea, not easily translated into exact words, but readily grasped in the original, of sharing, or associating, oneself and one's ideas with others, or perhaps of holding forth on (in the sense that an orator holds forth), which last meaning fits well into Shih Sheng-tsu's interpretation of *Analepts* IX, 1, and which I have ventured above to use in translating the character *yü* where it appears in Shih's own explanation.

To this exposition of Shih's views, let us add a final proof of our own. The use of the conjunction "and" is in general avoided in Chinese, both in the written and spoken languages. Yet if we accept the traditional interpretation for *Analepts* IX, 1, we find that the character *yü* occurs twice in this short sentence with this meaning—something most unusual. Legge senses this peculiarity when he translates: "The subjects . . . were—profitableness, *and also* the appointments (of Heaven), *and* perfect virtue." The second "and" is passable, but the "and also" is certainly most clumsy and unnecessary.

If we look through the *Analepts*, we find a number of sentences of a type very similar in structure to the one under discussion, in which things and ideas are grouped in the same way into categories. Thus we have: "The Master's frequent themes of discourse were—the Odes, the History, and the maintenance of the Rules of Propriety." "The subjects on which the Master did not talk, were—extraordinary beings, feats of strength, disorder, and spiritual beings." "There were four things which the Master taught—letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness." "There were four things from which the Master was entirely free. He had no foregone conclusions, no arbitrary predeterminations, no obstinacy, and no egoism."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Ana.* VII, 23; 28; XI, 25; XVIII, 1. The character 與 occurs twice in the second and fourth examples.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 17; 20; 24; IX, 4.

Comparing these four sentences, we make a most interesting discovery. In not one of them does the character *yü* occur, either in the meaning of "and," or with any other meaning whatsoever! The "and's" that occur in the translations have been added by Legge solely in order to conform to the demands of English idiom. It seems hardly possible, then, that in *Analects* IX, 1, which coincides almost exactly with these examples in sentence structure, two *yü* characters would appear gratuitously, unless they were intended to play a definite part in determining the meaning of the sentence, a part far more important than a mere superfluous conjunction such as "and," or "and also." Translation of the character *yü* according to the formula laid down by Shih Sheng-tsu would seem, then, to be the only possible alternative to falling into a glaring inconsistency.

It is difficult to account for the fact that Chinese scholarship should for the main have disregarded an explanation of a puzzling passage which, when once understood, appears quite logical and natural. Shih Sheng-tsu lived a little too late to have his researches adopted by Chu Hsi and so receive the stamp of orthodox approval. Nevertheless, an extract from his explanation of this passage appears in the *Huang ch'ing ching chieh*, published by Yüan Yüan in 1829, which Legge praises so highly, but which the eminent translator of the Chinese classics evidently must have overlooked when he studied the passage under consideration.<sup>21</sup>

In any case, *Analects* IX, 1, affords an interesting example of some of the difficulties besetting the student of Chinese, while Shih Sheng-tsu's explanation exemplifies the use in China of a true scientific method, as applied to textual criticism, at a time when Europe had not yet emerged from the Middle Ages.

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<sup>21</sup> 皇清經解 published by 阮元. Cf. the section 四書考異 beginning of chüan 459.

# THE SO-CALLED ŠĚŮĀ MEDIUM IN THE LIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN PALESTINIAN IDIOM

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JERUSALEM

FOR OUR purpose it is best to state the problem as follows: The first syllable of the word צִדְקָוִת Ju. 5:11 must have been a closed syllable, else its original vowel *a* (groundform: toneless *šadakât*) could not have become attenuated to *i*.<sup>1</sup> If such was the case here, it could not have been otherwise in בְּרַכָּו Gen. 49:25-6 (groundform: toneless *barakât*). If, however, the כ is not preceded by any vowel or vocal murmur, why is it pronounced as a spirant and not as an occlusive? Similar attenuation is present, and a consonantal close presupposed, in the first syllable of לְדִבְרֵי no less than in that of בְּבִקְרֵי.<sup>2</sup> Why, then, is the כ pronounced with *râp̄e*?

G. Bergsträsser's explanation is that the spirantization in such cases took place before the preceding syllable became closed.<sup>3</sup> He differs from E. Sievers only in assuming the effective cause of the spirantization to have been a vocal murmur, while Sievers thinks it was introduced at a time when the original full vowel was still unreduced.<sup>4</sup> With this Bergsträsser is unable to agree<sup>5</sup> because he holds that reduction took place between 1300 and 850,<sup>6</sup> whilst the *râp̄e* pronunciation was introduced in the 4th century B. C. at the earliest.<sup>7</sup> For the latter statement he gives a good reason,<sup>8</sup> for the former only very inadequate ones.<sup>9</sup>

I know no sufficient grounds for placing so early the date of all cases of the reduction, in certain positions with relation to the

<sup>1</sup> G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* I, p. 21 f.

<sup>2</sup> That the primitive forms of the prepositions כ ב ל were respectively *ba*, *ka*, *la* is not only deducible by comparative philology (Syriac, Ethiopic, Hebrew כִּי, כֵּן, לָנִי etc.), but also directly attested to by Jerome; see examples, C. Siegfried, "D. Ausspr. des Hebr. bei Hieronymus," *ZAW* 4. 39 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 30 k.

<sup>4</sup> E. Sievers, *Metrische Studien*, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, s. 6 m.

<sup>5</sup> G. Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, p. 21 g.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 p.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30 f.

accent, of short vowels in open syllables.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand, there is indirect evidence that it may have taken place a full millennium later. In Christian Palestinian šēuā-reduction is comparatively rare. Compare:

CP <sup>11</sup>	with	Jewish and Edessan
שׁוּבִיל		שְׁבִיל
שׁוּמִיא	(Sam. שׁוּמִיָּה)	שְׁמִיא
שׁימך		שְׁמך
שׁינִין	(years)	שְׁנִי
בִּירָה		בְּרָה
		Edessan, with still further reduction
יְחִיבִין	יְחִבִּין	יְחִבִּין
נְשִׁיבָא	נְשִׁבָּא	נְשִׁבָּא
עֲמִרִין	עֲמִרִין	עֲמִרִין

Most probably, not only *i*'s and *u*'s were retained by C P. but many an unreduced *a* remained unexpressed in writing in accord-

<sup>10</sup> Bergsträsser himself considers Ebeling's evidence for its presence in the *Canaanitish* language of the Tell-el-'Amārna period insufficient. Even if it were otherwise, reduction could not be presumed for the *Hebrew* of the same period, because, as Bergsträsser himself states, the two are not identical (*op. cit.*, s. 2 b). In passing I would merely point to one of the most striking differences between the two: viz., the use of *t* as well as *i*) as a preformative of the 3d person *masculine* in the Imperfect (P. Dhorme, *La Langue de Canaan*, p. 11; F. Boehl, *Die Sprache d. 'Amārnabriefe* s. 281-m). P. Leander, "Einige hebr. Lautgesetze chronologisch geordnet," *ZDMG* 74, pp. 61-73, believes that those divergences between the two languages which cannot be accounted for by direct descent are due to the fact that Hebrew proper came into existence through the crossing of 'Amārna-Canaanitish with the speech of the Ḥabiru. A further objection to taking the Tell-el-'Amārna correspondence into account for our subject is that the non-expression of vowels in these tablets may be due to the fact that the scribes may have been accustomed to a purely consonantal alphabet; at any rate, this possibility was suggested to Boehl by an entirely different phenomenon (*Die Spr. d. 'Amārnabriefe*, s. 2d).

<sup>11</sup> V. the relevant articles in F. Schulthess's *Lexicon Syropalaestinicum*, and s. 141. 3 of his *Grammatik des Christlich-Palaestinischen Aramäisch*.

ance with the general rule of Aramaic orthography (outside of Mandaean and Gaonic Aramaean).

That the ך of עבְדֹהִי Dn. 3:26 is to be spirated, was not merely theoretically *deduced* by the Tiberian Masoretes. That spiration set in at some point of time when the West Aramaeans were still saying something very similar to the CP עבִירִין<sup>12</sup> (slaves, servants) instead of dropping the second vowel (*i* for former *a*) completely, as in the later Jewish עבְדִין, or in the more consistent Edessan עבְרִין. If, therefore, Sievers's hypothesis explains so well the ם in בְּרִכְתֹּינֵנו the date of the reduction of the second vowel in that word will not have been very long before the date when a Christian Palestinian could still write נפִישְתֵּן<sup>12</sup> ("our souls").

The same עבִירִין and נפִישְתֵּן bear out the plain evidence of such standing Aramaic orthographies—undoubtedly phonetic outside the Syriac, and originally so even there—as Eg-Aram שְקֶן, רִשְׁשִׁיא, עִמְמִיא; Targ. יִמְמִיא; Syr. מַלְלִין, עִמְמֹוּרִי, מַלְלִין;<sup>13</sup> etc., as well as such unmistakable Mandaean plurals as יִמְמִיא, יִמְמִיא, יִמְמִיא, יִמְמִיא, יִמְמִיא, etc., and such common Hebrew forms as צִלְלִים Ct. 2:17; צִלְלִי Jer. 6:4; הִקְרִים Mišna Hag. I:8; הִקְרִי Ps. 36:7, etc.; צִרְרִין, צִרְרִי frequent in NH; הִקְרִים Ps. 10:7, 29:13, 55:12, 72:14 (sing. Ps. 12:4); טָלְלִים b. Hag. 12b;—namely, that an "interstitial" vowel in the plural of Segolates was originally common to Aramaic and Hebrew.<sup>14</sup> Even Syriac retains a trace of this vowel not only in the spellings above mentioned, but also in the pronunciation of a few plurals like 'esbe, and henke (plur. of hekka),<sup>14</sup> whilst the hard *K* of malke is on a par with the hard *B* of kâṭbîn and the hard *D* of מִלְכֵּן:<sup>15</sup>

Incidentally, the interstitial vowel is as also inserted before the unusual plural ending -ân; for the Aramaic and NH plural of ם

<sup>12</sup> Schulth, *Gram.* 82a.

<sup>13</sup> In Syr. ܡܠܠܝܢ, ܡܠܠܝܢ BA ܡܠܠܝܢ etc., syncope took place before the respective orthographies became fixed. The fact that *k* is a stop and *ʿ* a semi-vowel, probably had something to do with it.

<sup>14</sup> V. C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*, s. 123. It has long been suggested that this interstitial vowel originated in a broken plural, and it is hard to resist the evidence of C. Brockelmann, *Gundriss*, I s. 229 A, B.

<sup>15</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gramm.*, s. 23 D.

is סממנין (in which the ן— is secondary). The identical treatment of this word in Jewish and Christian texts shows that it is not merely a case of *graphical* analogy (against Brockelmann, *Syr. Gram.* s. 123 Anm. 2), and the same will therefore apply to Syr. אבכנא.

In the case of C P, however, the forms עבירין and נפישתן show that the interstitial vowel of the plural was actually *still pronounced* (as in מלְכִים) down to Byzantine times and, as might have been expected, was so present to the linguistic consciousness that the word *pm*, notwithstanding that it was originally biliteral and only secondarily drawn into this class in West Aramaic—cf. Dan. 7: 5—yielded the form פִּימִי (the singular of which is Palestinian פִּם (pem) and Tiberian פִּים in the Targum Yerushalmi fragments published by P. Kahle in *Masoreten des Westens* II).

E. A. Speiser has therefore, in my opinion, borrowed trouble in seeking to explain the interstitial vowel of מלְכִים phonetically (instead of morphologically) and the rāpē in פִּלְכִי otherwise than phonetically.<sup>16</sup> The *a* that follows the *l* of melakim can hardly be of any different nature from the *i* after the *b* in 'abidīn, or after the *p* in napišatan, or from the vowel that must have been sounded in the corresponding position in the other Aramaic words of the preceding paragraphs; also, prior to the reduction previously mentioned there was neither less nor more reason for its presence in the construct state than in the absolute.<sup>17</sup> Even if it should be proved that pre-Exilic Hebrew did not possess the interstitial vowel even in feminine nouns,<sup>18</sup> we shall have to suppose that it was subsequently introduced, or reintroduced, from West Aramaic.

Christian Palestinian therefore confirms the hypothesis which is dictated by previously known facts, namely, that in the vast majority of instances the so-called *šēya medium* is descended from a full vowel, but that the said vowel had in most cases quiesced completely before the introduction of methegs and "orthoepic" <sup>19</sup> hatephs; i. e., at any rate before the introduction of the Tiberian

<sup>16</sup> *JQR* 16, 375-78.

<sup>17</sup> Vs. *ibid.*, p. 376.

<sup>18</sup> To which it was at first confined in any case—Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, *ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, I s. 21 w-aa.

system of vocalisation. Spirantization, we have seen, was introduced into the language, according to Bergsträsser, in the 4th century. That was early enough for the *šēua medium* to have been still a vowel and to have caused following b g d k p t to be spirantized. Speiser's denial that there is any connection between *šēua medium* and spirantization<sup>20</sup> is based on an arbitrary reduction, relatively small at that, of the number of cases where the former was anciently represented by a full vowel.

If the above is substantially justified, then it becomes necessary to explain why spiration is *not* present in individual words like חֲרָרָה, בְּמִסְפִּירָם,<sup>21</sup> etc., and in the Infinitive Construct of the Qal cum לִ. That I have attempted to do elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> Conversely, there are, of course, cases where originally closed syllables have been opened,<sup>23</sup> and to the phonetic elucidation of these Speiser has rendered a valuable contribution.<sup>24</sup>

#### Addendum

For the fact that in the plurals of *q. tl*-formations the plural ending was added to a *disyllabic* theme, we now have the direct testimony of the Ras Shamra texts; in which the Common Semitic word for head is written ראש, but plur. ראשם. See my article *Nosaḇot la-olilat 'Al'iyin B'l*, Section I, iv, in *TARBIZ* (published by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem) IV:4.

<sup>20</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 377.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *GB* 29. I 21 t.

<sup>22</sup> *AJSL*, 1929, p. 127 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, I, s. 23 c.

<sup>24</sup> "Secondary Developments in Semitic Phonology etc.," 2 a, *AJSL* 42, 153-156. It will be seen that I cannot agree entirely with the footnote on pp. 155-6.

## BRIEF NOTES

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### *Episode in the Wanderings of Śiva*

Two rosaries worn by Yogīs and other ascetics are commonly spoken of as made up of stone beads. In fact they are composed of nummulites which are of the size and shape of grains of rice or of puffed rice. Both rosaries are obtained on the difficult pilgrimage to the *vāmacārī* temple of Hiṅg Lāj Devī in southern Baluchistan. That made of the smaller beads is called Hiṅg Lāj kā Ṭhumrā; the other Āśāpūrī. The former is said to consist of petrified grains of millet, or *jawār* (sorghum), the other of petrified grains<sup>1</sup> of rice or *bājra* (bullrush millet). The former is the one more commonly worn, and is evidently the more prized. It consists of five hundred or a thousand beads. Both sizes of beads are obtained at Nagar Ṭhaṭha, about seventy miles north of Karāchī, on the plateau in the Makli Hills, overlooking the Indus. The table land<sup>2</sup> in this neighborhood is strewn thick with pebbles and nodular lumps of hard, yellow limestone, which is sometimes quite speckled with little nummulites. These become detached and lie on the ground in such quantities that it has become a trade to collect and string them for ascetics travelling to Hiṅg Lāj. The pilgrims purchase the rosaries at Nagar Ṭhaṭha, and, upon reaching Hiṅg Lāj, offer them to the Goddess Nāinī. The Ṭhumrā is then put on. When the ascetics reach Āśāpūrī Devī's shrine at Nagar Ṭhaṭha, on the return journey, they offer the other rosary to her and then put it on.

The Yogīs explain the origin of the marine shells, the "stone" beads by the following legend. Śiva and Pārvatī, on their way to Hiṅg Lāj, on pilgrimage, stopped in the jungles of Āśāpūrī. There Śiva asked his consort to prepare him a dish of *khichri*, cooked millet and rice, while he went away into the jungle. He then drew around her and her cooking-place a magic circle of ashes, explain-

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Alexander Burnes, in his *Travels into Bokhara* (1835), vol. I, p. 29, says of these beads: "They resemble the grains of pulse or juwaree; and the pilgrim has the satisfaction of believing that they are the petrified grain of the Creator, left on earth to remind him of his creation. They now form a monopoly and source for profit to the priests of Tatta."

<sup>2</sup> See *Gazetteer of Sind, Karachi*; B Vol. 1, p. 113.



ing to her that a giant (*asura*) would, in his absence, come to molest her; but that she would be perfectly safe so long as she remained within the circle, since he would be burned to ashes should he venture to cross the magic line. Śiva then left with her his trident and went away into the jungle. While he was gone, the *asura* came, as Śiva had predicted, and Pārvatī slew him with the trident. The demon's blood ran all about the place defiling everything, including the fire-place and the food which she was preparing. Soon afterwards Śiva returned. The giant immediately appealed to the God for release (*mukti*) and Śiva granted his request. The *asura's* spirit ascended to Kāilāsa, Śiva's Heaven. His body, however, turned to dust, and this is still used as incense powder. Seeing how everything had been defiled by the giant's blood, Śiva ordered Pārvatī to throw the food away. The grains of the *khichri* turned into the "stones" out of which the beads for the famous rosaries are made.

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### *An Obscure Passage in the Hittite Laws*

In KBo VI., obv. I, a law begins at line 11, the second and third words of which have never been understood. The whole section transliterated would be as follows: [ta]k-[k]u hu-u-uš-ši-el-li-ya-az bu-[u]-ta<sup>m</sup> ku-iš-ki da-a-i-ya-zi [ma-si-ya-an da]-a-i-ya-az-zi an-da-ši-ya a-bi-e-ni-iš-šu-wa-an pa-a-i. The words hu-u-us-si-el-li-ya-az and bu-u-ta<sup>m</sup> have up to the present time defied the powers of interpreters. The first of these words is an ablative and the second is apparently an accusative. The writer would suggest that the first of these words is akin to the Greek χύτρον<sup>1</sup> meaning something that can be poured, a liquid, and that the second of them is the Hittite equivalent of the Teutonic root *butte* which appears in our English word "butt" meaning a keg or cask or jar,<sup>2</sup> and that the whole law should read: "If anyone steals from a liquid a cask, in

<sup>1</sup> The change from *s* to *t* is comparable to that in Greek itself, where 'four' may be τέτταρες or τέσσαρες.

<sup>2</sup> The presence in Hittite of a number of words like *barna*, a large building, equivalent to English barn; *uatar*, equivalent to English water and German wasser makes this suggestion probable. Hrozný's suggestion that BU-[U]-TAN is Akkadian affords no possible translation for the law.

proportion to that which he has stolen in that proportion he shall pay." The preceding sections of the code have to do with the theft of fruit trees, vines and fruit. If, as we suppose, this law refers to the theft of liquids or of a liquid, the liquid might be olive oil, wine, or cider.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*Archeology and the Sumerian Problem.* By HENRI FRANKFORT.  
Chicago: *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,*  
*Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, No. 4, 1932. Pp.  
xi + 72, with 4 plates and 9 illustrations in text.

We have learned to expect of Dr. Frankfort work of very high calibre. This little book is no exception. The three prehistoric periods in Mesopotamia, which recent archaeological research has shown to have preceded the Early Dynastic Age, are discussed with the author's customary lucidity of style and presentation. The comparative archaeological method is here exhibited at its best. Material remains from various Mesopotamian sites assume in this book added importance when viewed, with admirable judgment, as criteria of cultural interrelationships. Especially valuable light is thrown on the intermediate prehistoric stage, the so-called Uruk period, which is shown to derive largely from Anatolian sources. Several comparative tables give convincing support to the author's conclusions and provide excellent graphic illustrations for the reader.

His sources having been thus evaluated, Frankfort concludes his study with an inquiry as to the antiquity of the Sumerians. No problem in Mesopotamian history is just now capable of as many widely divergent interpretations. Attempted solutions have ranged all the way from the Early Dynastic period (cir. 3000 B. C.) to the beginning of the el-Obeid period (perhaps as much as two thousand years earlier). Frankfort favors the earliest date. In the opinion of the present reviewer this estimate is far off the mark, but he must reserve a detailed reply for another occasion. However, it

must be made plain that the matter does not admit as yet of a clear-cut decision either way. A distinction must be made between facts and possibilities, and Frankfort has succeeded in maintaining a nice balance between the two.

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*Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien.* Von A. VON LECOQ. Siebenter (Schluss) Teil. *Neue Bildwerke III. Ausgewählt und bearbeitet von ERNST WALDSCHMIDT.* Berlin: DIETRICH REIMER (ERNST VOHSEN), 1933. 80 pp., 34 tables.

The appearance of the final volume of this magnificent series will bring joy to all scholars and lovers of art, mingled with sadness at the thought that it appeared after the death of the brilliant and learned man who founded the series and carried it nearly to completion. Dr. Albert von LeCoq was a rare, one may almost say a unique, personality. He possessed tireless energy, vast learning, brilliant insight, striking originality, and withal a personal charm which won him the admiration and affection of all who had the privilege of knowing him.

Since fate prevented him from seeing in print the conclusion of this, the greatest publication of his life, it is fitting that it should be dedicated to his memory. No pains were spared to make it a worthy monument. Artistically, and in all externals, it equals, possibly even excels at some points (in paper and typography), the high standard set by previous volumes. Dr. Waldschmidt has shown great wisdom and skill in the selection and arrangement of the art-works presented in the tables, ten of which admirably reproduce not only the lines but the beautiful colors of the originals. He is also responsible for the main text, which is further illustrated by many smaller cuts, and which discusses adequately the themes of the works presented, and contains valuable contributions to the solution of the complicated questions which arise regarding their chronology, and the different influences, ethnic and other, which show themselves in the development of the various styles. These latter questions are further illuminated by prefatory essays contributed by three other scholars, each a recognized leader in his field. Friedrich Sarre writes on the relation of Persian art to that of Turfan; Otto Kummel on Turfan and Chinese art; and

Heinrich Lüders on "Turfan und die Orientalistik," a brief but meaty essay calling attention to the broader cultural implications of the Turfan discoveries, their bearing on Buddhism, Manichaeism, linguistics, etc.

That funds for this truly noble publication were successfully raised in these difficult times is a tribute, first, to the importance and universal appeal of the subject matter; secondly, to the lasting impression made on the world by LeCoq himself, who gave his life to it; and finally, but by no means least of all, to the devotion of his widow, Frau Elinor von LeCoq, without whose energetic efforts it may well be doubted whether the publication would have been achieved for years to come. That money from American sources was among that made available may be regarded as a matter of national pride for us.

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*Lehrgang der chinesischen Schriftsprache.* VON E. HAENISCH.  
III, Chrestomathie, Textband. Leipzig: ASIA MAJOR, 1933.  
289 pages.

This new handbook for students of the Chinese language, as its name implies, is an anthology of selections from Chinese literature. They range from passages of the classics to fairly recent works. While the most difficult passages have not been chosen, the selections would require an advanced student. After a brief foreword in German, the remainder of the volume contains only Chinese text. A later volume is to appear, giving notes and the translations of the text. Unfortunately no references are made in this volume to the works from which the selections are taken, but these will probably be given in the succeeding volume.

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*An Introduction to Oriental Journals in Western Languages.*  
Compiled by M. S. BATES. Nanking: INSTITUTE OF CHINESE  
CULTURAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NANKING, 1933. 65 pages.

This is a useful study, although it is, and claims to be, only an introduction. It consists of an introduction in Chinese, lists of the titles of articles selected from various journals arranged under the titles of the journals, and indexes by subjects and authors. The

titles cover a period from 1862 to 1931, which may account for the omission of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, although some important articles on Far Eastern subjects were published in it before 1931. Most of the well-known journals are included, though one or two are more popular than scientific and scholarly. Fault might be found with the principle of selection, but the reviewer feels lenient, as he found an article by De Visser for which he had been looking for some time. The study appears primarily designed for Chinese students, to whom it should be valuable.

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*Les Sociétés Secrètes en Chine.* Par le LIEUTENANT-COLONEL B. FAVRE. Paris: MAISONNEUVE, 1933. 222 pages.

This book is popular, and is written for those who have no acquaintance with the Chinese language. No Chinese characters are given. At the end of the volume are notes and a bibliography. However, the author is a scholar, and has gone to the original sources for much of his material. It is charmingly written, of a popular yet scientific type often produced in France, but unfortunately, seldom in America. The first part discusses secret societies in general. The second treats of the part secret societies have played in Chinese history. This section is necessarily only a summary. The third part considers secret societies of the modern period, particularly the Triad society. The reviewer is most interested in the historical section. After reviewing possible references to such societies in the classical literature, where he is on very uncertain ground, the author maintains that Liu Pang, the founder of the Han dynasty, founded a Taoist secret society which helped to put him on the throne. The evidence for this hardly seems adequate. The author is on firmer ground in dealing with the "Red-Eyebrows" of the time of Wang Mang, and with the "Yellow-Turbans" at the end of the Eastern Han period. It is questionable whether the alliance of Liu Pei, Kuan Yü, and Chang Fei, of "Three Kingdoms" fame, should be called a secret society, or whether the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* should be used as an authority in an historical study. The author appears to belong to the school of Granet, and some of the objections which have been made to Granet's work would apply to him also. Nevertheless, the study is interesting and valuable.

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*Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Chinas; Erster Teil; Produktivkräfte, Produktions- und Zirkulationsprozess.* Von K. A. WITTFOGEL. Leipzig: HIRSCHFELD, 1931. 767 pages, 24 plates.

This volume is not an attempt to discover new facts about the economic life of the Chinese. It is rather a collection of the economic facts already known, arranged, treated and interpreted according to the theories and methods of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This volume does not attempt any criticism of the sources. No Chinese is given, although the illustrations are Chinese. The maps are not very good. The principal sinologists used as authorities are German, such as Franke, Conrady, Wilhelm, and Erkes. Legge, Maspero, Biot, Werner, and Russian authors are freely used, and a number of Chinese economists who have written in European languages. The author has a thorough knowledge of the mass of small and obscure articles and bulletins dealing with various phases of Chinese economic life, and the volume is worth having for this feature alone. Unfortunately this volume contains neither a bibliography nor an index. In geology, the author follows Richthofen. What one thinks of the volume as a whole will probably depend upon what one thinks of the position of Marx. Although the author has studied in the sinological seminars at Leipzig and Frankfurt a. M., he does not appear to use original sources in Chinese. The book contains an amazing amount of information, collected with thoroughness.

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*Jubiläumsband herausgegeben von der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens; Teil I.* Tokyo: TAIHEI-YÔSHA, 1933. 409 pages, 51 plates.

This volume is the first of two which will celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of this learned society. Forty-three scholars have contributed to the two volumes, of whom twenty-nine are German, six Japanese, and the others are divided among other nationalities. Only one Frenchman is included, and no Americans. The occupations followed by the contributors are varied, and the contributors include missionaries, theologians, diplomats and consular officials, and a musician, as well as men connected with universities. The subjects treated include Ethnology and Pre-History, Geography, Sociology, Religion, Botany, Medicine, Literature, the Theater, and Music. Most of the articles deal with phases of Japanese

culture, but there are articles dealing with China, Manchukuo, and the Dutch East Indies. The articles are scholarly, and the plates, on the whole, good. The first volume contains no index. Orientalists will congratulate the Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens upon its sixtieth anniversary, and upon the valuable way it has chosen to celebrate it.

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*Careers for Students of Chinese Language and Civilization.* Edited by LEWIS HODOUS. Published for the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations. Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1933. 65 pages.

This little book is excellent propaganda to increase the number of American students of things Chinese. After a foreword by E. C. Carter, and an introduction by Professor Hodous, follow ten short articles on different careers open to a man who has studied the Chinese language. They include business, government service, newspaper work, and the more academic work of archeology, teaching, research, and the tasks of the curator and the librarian. The articles are well-written, and the authors are authorities in their fields.

The only defect of the book is that it is somewhat too enthusiastic, as is natural with deliberate propaganda. Serious students of Chinese will be compelled to make sacrifices for some time to come. It takes a long time to acquire a sufficient mastery of Chinese to expect a position carrying a living salary and a reasonable security. Such scholars as have acquired this mastery of the language are having a hard time getting positions at present. There is a healthy reaction from the attitude that a man did not need to know Chinese in order to study or write about China. But the present tendency in academic circles seems to go too far in the opposite direction. A knowledge of linguistics is not the only requirement for work in this field, and sometimes it is not even the first requirement, as Dr. Laufer points out in this book. There seems to be an opinion that a scholar can investigate any subject in the Chinese field provided he knows Chinese and Indo-European linguistics. Unfortunately this is not the case. And just as some time ago an American scholar was expected to have studied in Germany, so now a sinologist is expected to have been in France. As a result, there

is a tendency to narrow the field of applicants for university positions to scholars with only one type of training and discipline. If this tendency is not corrected, the development of Chinese studies and the careers of some promising men will be hindered. If a man is to work in Chinese ethnology, it is even more important that he be a trained ethnologist than that he should know Chinese. It is to be hoped that other disciplines than linguistics will not be ignored in opening careers for students of sinology.

J. K. SHRYOCK.

Philadelphia.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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With the authorization of the Executive Committee the Editors have inaugurated a series of special offprints. The purpose is to make available separately some of the contributions to the JOURNAL at a price proportionately lower than the cost of the entire volume. For practical reasons the Series will not include articles that are less than 20 pages in length. The inclusion of longer contributions will be determined by the individual authors, who must bear the total initial expense of the pamphlet edition. A more detailed statement will be sent to the authors with their galley proofs. The first number of the Series is J. A. Montgomery, "Notes to the Mythological Epic Texts from Ras Shamra," price 40 cents. The offprints may be procured through the editorial office.

As authorized by the Directors (see JOURNAL 53, 189) the Editors have selected for publication in the American Oriental Series Dr. Murray B. Emeneau's *Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetālapañcaviṁśati*.

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

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*Ars Islamica*, a semi-annual publication, is announced by the Research Seminary in Islamic Art, Division of Fine Arts, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, under the editorship of Dr. Mehmet Aga-Oglu. The subscription price is \$5.00 yearly.

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
**American Oriental Society**

AT THE MEETING IN NEW YORK, 1933

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The sessions of the One Hundred and Forty-fifth Meeting of the Society were held in New York City on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, April 18th, 19th and 20th, 1933, in conjunction with the Conference on Far Eastern Studies. Four of the sessions were held at Columbia University, one at the Jewish Institute of Religion, and one at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The following members were present at one or more sessions:

Albright	DeWitt, Mrs.	Johnson, H. K.
Archer	Dimand	Johnson, Miss
Auad	Dumont	Joshi, S. L.
Bailey	Edgerton, F.	Keogh
Barbour	Elzas	Klein, W.
Barret	Emeneau	Kohut
Barton	Fernald, Miss	Kraeling, E. G.
Bates, Mrs.	Fowler	Latourette
Bender	Freifelder	Laufer
Bergman	Gaskill, Miss	Luce
Berman	Gellot	Marcus
Bingham	Gest	Margolis
Borton	Goodrich	Martinovitch
Briggs, G. W.	Gordon, C. H.	Matthews, I. G.
Britton	Graves	Meek
Brockman	Gunn	Merrill, Mrs.
Brooks, Mrs.	Hackney, Miss	Montgomery
Brown, W. N.	Halkin	Moon
Buchanan	Hardy	Morgenstern
Bull	Harris, Z. S.	Murphy, Mrs.
Burrows	Hauptert	Newell
Campbell	Hitti	Obermann
Chapin, Miss	Hume, E. H.	Ogden, C. J.
Chapman	Hume, R. E.	Olmstead
Clark	Hummel, A. W.	Paul
Coomaraswamy	Hussey, Miss	Peake
DeLong	Jackson, A. V. W.	Pekarsky
Devine	Jackson, Mrs.	Pfeiffer

Poleman	Schmidt, E. F.	Temple
Pope	Schmidt, N.	Torrey
Quiring	Shryock	Tyng
Reich	Skoss	Uhl
Reider	Smith, M. B.	Winlock
Rosmarin, Mrs.	Speiser	Wise
Rowley	Spoer	Wolfe
Rudolph, Miss	Stephens	Yaure
Sakanishi, Miss	Sturtevant	Zeitlin
Sapir	Swann, Miss	Total 115
Schiller	Taylor, W. R.	

There were also present some of those attending the Conference on Far Eastern Studies.

Present as guests of the Society were Prof. J. J. L. Duyvendak of Leiden, Prof. Serge Elisséeff of Paris, Prof. Louis Speleers of Brussels, Dr. Y. R. Chao, and Mr. J. H. Levis.

### THE FIRST SESSION

At 10.05 A. M. on Tuesday the first session of the meeting was called to order by President Albert T. Olmstead in the Casa Italiana at Columbia University. Reading of the minutes of the meeting at Chicago in 1932 was dispensed with as these were already in print (JOURNAL 52. 270-310). There were no corrections and the minutes were approved.

Mrs. A. V. Williams Jackson, Acting Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements in the absence of Professor Gottheil, presented the Committee's report in the form of a printed programme. It was announced that the succeeding sessions were to be on Tuesday afternoon and evening, Wednesday morning and afternoon, and Thursday morning, and that the Annual Dinner of the Society would be on Wednesday evening at the Columbia Faculty House. It was also announced that the local members of the Society invited visiting members to luncheon that day at the Columbia Faculty House and that the Jewish Institute of Religion invited the members of the Society to take luncheon at the Institute on Wednesday. It was further announced that the Men's and Women's Faculty Clubs of Columbia University offered full use of their facilities to the members of the Society.

## REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, presented the following report:

For the first time in some years it is necessary to report a decrease in the total number of members; we have now 785 on the roll, a net loss of 14 since the last meeting. Although 52 names were added to the list during this period, 15 were removed by death and 51 through resignation. The latter figure is a plain indication of the financial strain which is affecting our members both here and abroad; on the whole, we may still congratulate the Society on the faithfulness of its personnel, including many of those who but seldom have an opportunity to attend its meetings.

That we have a large number of members who are eager to take part directly in the activities of the Society, when they can, is shown by the list of those expected at the present meeting as also by the attendance at Chicago last year. It may be questioned whether our program in such a case is not too extensive for the time allotted, with the result that the meeting tends towards a mechanical routine and loses the free play of discussion that quickens interest. Better than the still dubious expedient of a "planned program" would be to lengthen the period of the meeting to three full days, an arrangement long ago officially endorsed by the Society but practically impossible as long as we meet at dates which more often than not fail to coincide with the spring vacation in most of the colleges and universities. Your Secretary would suggest for consideration at another meeting the possibility of making more flexible the provision of our constitution as to the date of the annual meeting, so that it might be held at the end of March or the beginning of April each year, according to the judgment of the Board of Directors.

During the year the Society was represented at the Centennial Celebration of Gettysburg College, May 26-30, 1932, by Professor DeLong, and at the inauguration of President William A. Boylan of Brooklyn College on June 21, 1932, by Professor E. G. Kraeling. At the ninth annual Conference of Secretaries held in connection with the meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies in Philadelphia on January 28, 1933, your Secretary was present as usual. Informal reports were made on the financial condition of the constituent societies of the Council, and a proposed plan for the reproduction and distribution of materials for research in small editions through a central publishing service was discussed without making any definite recommendations thereon to the Council.

In conclusion it is fitting to record briefly the names and services of those members whose deaths have been reported since the last meeting.

Rev. ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE, D. Litt., LL. D., D. D., of Edinburgh, professor emeritus of Assyriology in the University of Oxford after a service in that institution of almost fifty years, recognized as one of the foremost scholars of his day both in Assyriology and in the wider domain of the

history and the epigraphy of the entire ancient Near East. Elected an Honorary Member in 1893. Died February 4, 1933, at the age of 87.

EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Ph. D., LL. D., professor emeritus of Sanskrit at Yale University, where he had taught for over thirty years, acknowledged by universal consent as the leading authority on the great epics of India and the culture of their period, but deeply versed in the general study of religions as well, during his long connection with our Society one of its brightest ornaments both through his scholarly contributions and in his official services as Secretary, Editor, and President. Elected a corporate member in 1881. Died July 16, 1932, at the age of 75.

MAX L. MARGOLIS, Ph. D., professor of Biblical philology in the Dropsie College since 1909, profound student of the Hebrew Bible and of the Septuagint version, and master of the cognate branches of Semitic study, who devoted his rigorous scholarship to the service of the Society as an Editor of its JOURNAL for the last decade. Elected in 1890. Died April 2, 1932, at the age of 65.

Rev. JAMES HARDY ROPES, D. D., Hollis professor of divinity at Harvard University since 1910 and a member of its teaching staff since 1895, eminent as a scholar in the field of the textual criticism and interpretation of the New Testament and active in the cause of higher education. Elected in 1893. Died January 8, 1933, at the age of 66.

Rev. FRANK K. SANDERS, Ph. D., of Rockport, Mass., of missionary parentage and engaged in the educational work of missionary preparation through much of his career, but also professor of Biblical literature at Yale University, 1891-1901, dean of its Divinity School, 1901-1905, president of Washburn College, 1908-1914, author of many works on the content of the Bible, chairman of the Society's committee on enlargement of membership from 1921 to 1925. Elected in 1897. Died February 20, 1933, at the age of 71.

Rev. HARLAN PAGE BEACH, D. D., of Winter Park, Florida, professor emeritus of Christian missions at Yale University, himself a missionary in China during the first seven years of his career and throughout the remainder of his life a leader in organizing and developing missionary education in the Protestant churches of America. Elected in 1898. Died March 4, 1933, at the age of 78.

Rev. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, D. D., of Summit, N. J., for thirty years a missionary in the Bombay Presidency, India, possessor of a unique knowledge and understanding of the religious literature of the Maratha people, which is enshrined in his series of editions and translations, *The Poet Saints of Maharashtra*, an interested member and generous benefactor of this Society. Elected in 1900. Died June 19, 1932, at the age of 78.

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH, Ph. D., D. D., professor of Semitic languages and literatures at the University of Chicago since 1915 and for the same period editor of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, of English birth but in scholarly training a true native son of his university, a Biblical

scholar of wide range but especially interested in the prophetic books and the Psalms, former President of our Middle West Branch and a Vice-President of the Society at the date of his decease. Elected in 1906. Died September 26, 1932, at the age of 65.

Rev. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN, Ph. D., head of the India department of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, in his earlier years a missionary in Central India and thereafter professor at Transylvania College and dean of the College of Missions, Indianapolis, proficient alike in the religious and philosophic lore of the Sanskrit writings and in the mastery of the modern vernacular, extending his researches into the Dravidian field, a member whom family ties as well as scholarly interests attached to the Society. Elected in 1909. Died December 4, 1932, at the age of 62.

Mrs. EDITH PRATT DICKINS, of Washington, D. C., the widow of Rear Admiral Francis W. Dickins, U. S. N., and in former years a frequent attendant at our meetings, a cultured amateur of poetry and the literature of the Orient. Elected in 1911. Died November 14, 1931, at the age of 53.

WILFRED H. SCHOFF, A. M., former secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, and for ten years corresponding secretary of the American Schools of Oriental Research as well as representative of this Society on its Board of Trustees, especially interested in the ancient trade routes to the Orient and editor and translator of several of the classical authorities on that subject. Elected in 1912. Died September 14, 1932, at the age of 57.

SHIGERU ARAKI, A. M., former professor in the Peeress' School and lecturer in the Imperial University of Tokyo, student of Indo-Iranian during his stay at Columbia University and translator of the quatrains of Omar Khayyam into Japanese. Elected in 1915. Died August 26, 1932.

JOHN FREDERICK LEWIS, LL. D., of Philadelphia, specialist in marine law, prominent in the public affairs and cultural organizations of his city, a patron of art and bibliophile. A life member of the Society, elected in 1926 at the meeting in Philadelphia, of which occasion the exhibition of his manuscript treasures was a distinguishing event. Died December 24, 1932, at the age of 72.

Also the following, concerning whom it has not been possible to obtain particulars.

Dr. HUBERT BAXNING, formerly of New York City, elected in 1915. Date of death unascertained.

Mr. HARRY W. CARTWRIGHT, lately of New York City, elected in 1928. Date of death unascertained.

Upon motion the report of the Corresponding Secretary was accepted.

Tribute was paid to members who had died during the year: to Professors Araki and Hopkins by Professor Jackson; to Mr. John

Frederick Lewis by Professor Montgomery; to Professors Sayce and J. M. P. Smith by Professor Meek; to Professor J. M. P. Smith by Professor Quiring; to Professors G. W. Brown and Hopkins by Professor F. Edgerton; to Professors Hopkins, Margolis, and J. M. P. Smith by Professor Barton.

Upon motion of Professor F. Edgerton the following minute was unanimously adopted:

By the death of Edward Washburn Hopkins the American Oriental Society has lost one of its most distinguished and valued members. He was a leader in scholarship, a creative worker in the fields of Indology and the History of Religions, an ornament to his profession. He was also a wise counsellor, a faithful friend, and a delightful companion. For all these reasons our Society, of which he was for many years a very active, prominent, and devoted member, will miss him as few of its members could be missed. We record our sense of heavy loss, and direct that a copy of this minute be conveyed to his bereaved family with assurances of our deep-felt sympathy.

The Corresponding Secretary read messages of regret from several members who were unable to be present.

It was unanimously voted to request the Corresponding Secretary to send messages of greeting and regret at their absence to Professor Lanman and Professor Perry.

On motion of Professor Barret, who stated that Dr. Ogden was about to retire from the office of Corresponding Secretary, a unanimous and hearty vote of thanks was given to Dr. Ogden for his remarkably efficient conduct of his office.

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer, Professor John C. Archer, presented the following report:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1932.

##### *Receipts*

Cash Balance, Jan. 1, 1932.....	\$9,043.43
Dues from 479 members.....	2,581.94
Life Membership and Gift (Mrs. A. V. W. Jackson).....	100.00
Sales: JOURNAL (gross).....	730.39
Catalogue .....	5.00
Panchatantra (net).....	7.20
Tagalog Grammar (net).....	2.40

Nies Fund Income.....	\$525.65	
" Royal Inscriptions ".....	37.54	
	<hr/>	563.19
JAOS Reprints.....		22.90
Authors' Corrections.....		31.87
Interest:		
Deposit, Yale Univ.....		405.82
Mortgage (6%).....		360.00
Virginia Railway.....		50.00
Minneap. Gen. Elec.....		50.00
Total .....	<hr/>	\$13,954.14

*Expenditures*

## JOURNAL:

J. H. Furst Co., printing.....	\$2,313.60	
Reprints .....	101.31	
Corrections .....	53.75	
Stock, etc.....	305.76	
	<hr/>	\$2,774.42

## Yale Univ. Press:

Returns .....	\$ 40.17	
Commissions .....	172.56	
Transportation .....	112.79	
Mailing (4,200 @ 4 cts).....	168.00	
U. S. Post Office.. .....	10.00	
8,500 envelopes.....	109.00	
	<hr/>	612.52

Book Reviews.....	66.50	
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## Expenses:

Secretary. A. O. S.....	236.40	
Librarian .....	24.43	
Editors .....	20.57	
Yale Clerical Bureau. . . . .	100.76	
U. S. Customs.....	3.31	
	<hr/>	385.47
Dues, A. C. L. S. . . . .		25.00
Subvention. Encycl. of Islam.....		100.00
Honoraria: Editors (3) .....	600.00	
Treasurer .....	100.00	
	<hr/>	700.00

(Total expenses.. . . . \$4,663.91)

BALANCE, Jan. 1, 1933.. . . . 9,290.23

Total . . . . . 

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 \$13,954.14

The SPECIAL FUNDS of the Society, Jan. 1, 1933:

Bradley .....	\$3,000.00	
Casanowicz .....	150.00	
Cotheal .....	1,500.00	
Life Membership.....	3,900.00	
Nies Fund Income.....	3,448.41*	
Publication .....	98.91*	
Whitney .....	1,000.00	
A. O. S. Series.....	1,133.53*	
Reserve (cash).....	2,000.00	
Total .....	—————	\$16,230.85

The ASSETS of the Society, Jan. 1, 1933:

Cash on hand.....	\$9,290.23	
First Mortgage (6%).....	6,000.00	
Bonds: Virginia Railway.....	1,000.00	
Minneap. Gen'l Elec. Co.....	1,000.00	
Stock (20 shares C. R. I. & P. Ry.).....	110.00	
Total .....	—————	\$17,400.23

The NET CASH in the General Fund, Jan. 1, 1933. \$1,169.38

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The report of the Auditing Committee was then read by the Recording Secretary as follows:

We hereby certify that we have examined the accounts of the Treasurer of the Society and have found them to be correct, and that the foregoing Report of the state of the Treasury is in conformity with the accounts.

K. S. LATOURETTE,  
R. P. DOUGHERTY,  
*Auditors.*

Upon motion the reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were accepted.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian, Professor Andrew Keogh, presented the following report:

During the year 1932/33, 254 volumes and 473 numbers of periodicals were added to the Society's Library. Of the periodical numbers 454 were in continuance of sets already in the Library; 19 represent titles new to

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\* With interest.



the Library. During this year also some much needed binding has been done. For 1932 the expenditure of \$250 for this purpose was approved by the Directors and it was decided to devote the money chiefly to the binding of recent volumes of Journals. 187 volumes were accordingly bound at a cost of \$249.55, leaving a balance of 45 cents. The cataloguing of books, pamphlets and periodicals is up to date.

Following is a list of accessions for the year: <sup>1</sup>

- 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī, Tāj al-Dīn, *al-Subkī*. Tāǧ eddīn es-Subkī's Mu'īd en-ni 'am wa mubīd en-nīqam (über die moralischen Pflichten der verschiedenen islamischen Bevölkerungsklassen) 1925.
- 'Abdalqāhir ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī. al-Baghdādī's Characteristics of Muslim sects. Abridged. Ed. by P. K. Hitti. 1924.
- Abdul Wali. Life and work of Jawad Sabat, an Arab traveller, writer and apologist. 1925.
- Abū al-Faraj, *called* Bar-Hebraeus. Barhebraeus' scholia on the Old Testament. Ed. by M. Sprengling and W. C. Graham. [1931] (Chicago. Univ. Oriental institute. Publ. v. 13)
- Accademia d'Italia, *Rome*. Annuario, 1-3. 1930-32.
- Albright, W. F. The archaeology of Palestine and the Bible. [c1932] (Richards lectures delivered at the University of Virginia [1931])
- 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān, *called* Ibn Huḍail, al-Āndalūsī. La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux. Traduction française, par L. Mercier. 1924.
- Allen, H. W. & Jaynes, H. A. Contribution to the taxonomy of Asiatic wasps. 1930.
- Andrae, W., *ed*. Coloured ceramics from Ashur, and earlier ancient Assyrian wall-paintings, from photographs and water-colours by members of the Ashur expedition organised by the Deutsche Orient-gesellschaft. 1925.
- Anklesaria, Behramgore T. Zarathustra, founder of monotheism and the philosophy of eternal polarism. 1930.
- Āryadeva. The Catūhsataka of Āryadeva. Reconstructed and edited by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. Pt. II. [1931] (Visva-Bharati series, no. 2)
- The Aryan path, v. 3, no. 5. 1932.
- Bādarāyana. The Brahma-sūtras of Bādarāyana with the comment of Śaṅkarācārya, chapter 11, quarters I & II. Ed. in the original Sanskrit, with English translation by S. K. Belvalkar, 2d ed., rev. and enl. 1931.
- Bedè, W. F. Some tombs of Tell en-Nasbeh discovered in 1929. 1931. (Palestine institute publication, no. 2)
- Baikie, J. A history of Egypt from the earliest times to the end of the XVIIIth dynasty. 1929. 2v.
- Banerji, R. D. The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments. 1931. (India. Archaeological survey. Memoirs, no. 23)

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<sup>1</sup> The Editors call attention to the fact that reference in this list constitutes acknowledgment of many books sent to the JOURNAL for review.

- Bankipore, Bengal. Oriental public library. Catalogue of the Arahic and Persian manuscripts; v. 5, pt. 2, v. 8. 1925.
- Basset, R. M. J. Mille et un contes, récits & légendes arabes. v. 2. 1926.
- Bent, A. C. Life histories of North American gallinaceous birds. 1932. (U. S. National museum. Bulletin 162)
- Life histories of North American wild fowl. 1925. (U. S. National museum. Bulletin 130)
- Bhagavadgītā; translated from the Sanskrit by W. D. P. Hill. 1928.
- Bhandarkar, D. R. Some aspects of ancient Hindu polity. 1929. (Manindra Chandra Nandy lectures, 1925)
- Bhattacharyya, S. N. A history of Mughal north-east frontier policy. 1929.
- Bible. Ethiopic. Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Propheten Daniel. 1927.
- Bible. Greek. A critical edition of I Esdras by S. S. Tedesche. [1929?]
- Bible. Greek. The Minor prophets in the Freer collection and the Berlin fragment of Genesis, by H. A. Sanders and C. Schmidt. 1927. (Univ. of Michigan studies. Humanistic series, v. 21)
- Björkman, W. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten. 1928. (Hamburgische Universität. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde. Bd. 28. Reihe B. Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen. Bd. 16)
- Bodhisattvabhūmi; a statement of whole course of the Bodhisattva (being fifteenth section of Yogācārabhūmi) Ed. by Unrai Wogihara. I. 1930.
- Bombay. University. Journal. History, economics & sociology, no. 1. 1932.
- Book of the Himyarites. Fragments of a hitherto unknown Syriac work. Ed. and tr. by A. Moberg. 1924. (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. VII)
- Bowen, H. Life and times of 'Alī ibn 'Isā, 'the Good vizier'. 1928.
- Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa. Het Oud-Javaansche Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa. uitg door Dr. J. Gonda. [1932] (Bibliotheca Javanica, 5)
- Browne, E. G. A descriptive catalogue of the oriental mss. belonging to the late E. G. Browne. 1932.
- Buchanan, F. H. An account of the district of Purnea in 1809-10. Ed. by V. H. Jackson. 1928.
- Journal kept during the survey of the district of Bhagalpur in 1810-1811. 1930.
- Buck, P. H. Ethnology of Manihiki and Rakahanga. 1932. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bulletin 99)
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- Wolff, E. Zur Lehre vom Bewusstsein (Vijñānavāda) bei den späteren Buddhisten. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Laṅkāvatārasūtra. 1930. (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Hft. 17)
- Yājñavalkya. Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des indischen Rechts. Von H. Losch. 1927.
- Yajnik, M. M. The Chhatrapatisamrajyam. With the commentary of Shridhar Shastri and with the free translation by Laxminath Bada-rinath Shastri. 1929.
- Year book of Japanese art. 1927.
- Ypes, W. K. H. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de stamverwantschap, de inheemsche rechtsgemeenschappen en het grondenrecht der Toba- en Dairibataks. Uitg. door de Adatrechtstichting te Leiden. 1932.

On motion the report of the Librarian was accepted.

#### REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Professor W. Norman Brown presented for the Editors of the JOURNAL the following report:

The Editors report that since the last meeting of the Society, Nos. 2, 3, and 4 of Volume 52 of the JOURNAL have been published and distributed and No. 1 of Volume 53.

The amount of material available for the JOURNAL exceeds the space, and the Editors believe that there is excellent reason to enlarge the JOURNAL.

W. NORMAN BROWN,  
JOHN KNIGHT SHRYOCK,  
JAMES A. MONTGOMERY,  
*Editors.*

Dr. Ogden paid tribute to Professor Montgomery for generously taking the post of Semitic editor for a year after the resignation of the late Professor Margolis.

On motion the report of the Editors was accepted.

#### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Corresponding Secretary presented the report of the Executive Committee as printed in the JOURNAL (52. 269 and 401; 53. 94).

Upon motion the actions of the Committee were ratified.

#### ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons recommended by the directors were duly elected corporate members of the Society (the list includes three who were elected at a later session):

Habib Auad, Ph. D., D. Sc., D. D.	Miss Elizabeth R. Heist
Abraham Bergman	Albert J. Hertz, D. D. S.
W. Theodore Benze	Rt. Rev. Daniel T. Huntington
Dr. Peter A. Boodberg	Ernest R. Lacheman
Mrs. Ruth B. Brooks, B. A., B. D.	Mrs. Dagny Carter Murphy
Rev. Percy Buchanan	M. C. Perman
Miss Catherine S. Bunnell	Dr. Arthur U. Pope
Maurice S. Dimand, Ph. D.	Rev. J. Christian Port
Rev. Harold E. Fey	Prof. Edward Sapir
P. Fitzgerald	Tien Tung Shui
Felix Freifelder	Charles Spicer, Jr.
Miss Gussie E. Gaskill	Richard H. Tafel
Dr. I. J. Gelb	Prof. Dudley Tyng
John Davis Hatch, Jr.	Miss W. Van Ingen <sup>1</sup>

[Total 28]

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<sup>1</sup> Elected by Executive Committee since April:

Prof. Salo Baron	Miss Marguerite Grove
Dr. A. H. Dirksen	R. H. McCord
Paul B. Eaton	Mrs. W. H. Moore
Miss M. E. Gerhart	J. Leighton Stuart

[Total 8]

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Professor F. Edgerton presented the report of the Committee on the Nomination of Officers for 1933-34 as follows:

President: Professor RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University.  
Vice-Presidents: Mr. EDWARD T. NEWELL, of the American Numismatic Society; Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, of Columbia University; and Professor EDWARD CHIERA, of the University of Chicago.

Corresponding Secretary: Professor LEROY C. BARRET, of Trinity College.  
Recording Secretary: Dr. LUDLOW BULL, of the Metropolitan Museum.

Treasurer: Professor JOHN C. ARCHER, of Yale University.

Librarian: Professor ANDREW KEOGH, of Yale University.

Editors of the JOURNAL: Professor W. NORMAN BROWN, Dr. JOHN K. SHRYOCK, and Professor EPHRAIM A. SPEISER, all of the University of Pennsylvania.

Directors for the term ending 1936: Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the University of Chicago; Professor HAROLD H. BENDER, of Princeton University; and Professor KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, of Yale University.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

On motion of President Morgenstern the following minute was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society rejoices to express to Dr. Charles J. Ogden its grateful appreciation of his devoted and invaluable services as its Corresponding Secretary over a period of fourteen years. He has carried on all the business of his office, and of the Society in general, painstakingly and constructively. He has loyally upheld the hands of every successive president of the Society. He has contributed immeasurably to the signal growth of the Society during these years and to the success of its annual meetings. In elevating him to the position of one of its Vice-Presidents, the Society feels that it has only honored itself. And in doing so it ventures to utter the confident hope that it may continue to enjoy for many years the loyal membership, the wise counsel and the helpful, fruitful service of Dr. Ogden in every duty and office for which it may call upon him.

Professor Montgomery paid further tribute to Dr. Ogden's conduct of the office of Corresponding Secretary.

At this point Professor Howard Lee McBain, Dean of the Graduate Faculties, acting for President Butler who was unable to be present, welcomed the Society on behalf of Columbia University.

The reading of papers was then begun.

Professor PHILIP K. HITT, of Princeton University, and Professor W. NORMAN BROWN, of the University of Pennsylvania: Some New Oriental Types recently perfected in America. Remarks by Professor F. Edgerton.

This communication calls attention to the fact that the Mergenthaler Linotype Co., of Brooklyn, N. Y., has just perfected for the first time Hebrew italic type and Sanskrit (Devanagari) for the linotype, and has produced new forms of Syriac and Arabic types. (It is expected that specimens will be on exhibition at the meeting.)

Mr. ZELIG S. HARRIS, of the University of Pennsylvania: Acrophony and Vowellessness in the creation of the Alphabet. Remarks by Professor Albright.

The existence of the acrophonic principle in the alphabet is shown by the Serabit material. Vowellessness is explained from acrophony. In Semitic no word begins with a vowel: no sign therefore came to receive a vowel as its value.

Professor JULIAN J. OBERMANN, of Yale University: Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in the Arabic Writings of Muhammedans. Remarks by Professors Hitti and Montgomery.

This paper limits its investigation to the realm of such Hebrew-Aramaic elements as have found their way into Arabic literature with their native linguistic expression essentially unchanged.

Professor EDWARD SAPIR, of Yale University: A possible meaning of Biblical Aramaic *'afarsaθxāyē* (Ezra 4: 9). Remarks by Dr. Ogden, President Morgenstern, Professor Montgomery, and President Olmstead.

This paper presents a new hypothesis in regard to the etymology of a difficult Aramaic word (or name) in Ezra 4: 9, which, if true, will be of some interest to Iranian scholars.

The session adjourned at 12.45 P. M.

## THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order at 2.30 on Tuesday afternoon in the Casa Italiana, and the reading of papers was immediately continued.

Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, of Columbia University: Traces of Biblical Influence in the Turfan Pahlavi Fragment M. 173. Remarks by Professors Duyvendak and Montgomery.

Among a number of Manichaean Fragments discovered in the sand-buried ruins in Turfan, Central Asia, there are several which show clear traces of Biblical influence upon Mānī. Two stanzas from Fragment M. 173 have been selected here for translation and elucidation, because they indicate that Rev. 1: 8, and possibly Is. 44: 6, are their source.

Professor J. J. L. DUYVENDAK, of the University of Leiden: New light on Chêng Ho's expeditions. Remarks by President Olmstead.

More light on China's relations with the overseas countries in the Ming dynasty.

Professor W. F. ALBRIGHT, of The Johns Hopkins University: The Age of the Hyksos. Remarks by Professor Barton.

Recent discoveries, chiefly in Palestine, are rapidly filling in the gaps of our archaeological information as regards the period of the Hyksos. The age was opened by great barbarian irruptions, composed in part of Indo-Iranian elements, which reached Palestine about 1750 B. C. Shortly afterwards Lower Egypt fell under Semitic (Hebrew or Amorite) rule. A scarab found at Tell Beit Mirsim proves that this Semitic phase preceded the dynasty of Khayan and Apophis. Linguistic and archaeological evidence suggests that this dynasty was of Luyyan (Luvian), i. e., of South Anatolian origin.

Professor E. A. SPEISER, of the University of Pennsylvania: The Hebrews and the migrations of peoples in the second millennium B. C. Remarks by Professor Barton.

The paper is published in *AASOR* XIII, 13-54.

Professor MILLAR BURROWS, of Brown University: From Pillar to Post. Remarks by Professors Albright and Barton, Dr. Uhl, Dr. Chapman, and President Morgenstern.

A reconsideration of some of the supposed *massébot* discovered in Palestine as an illustration of the possibilities and limitations of archaeological evidence in the study of history.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of Yale University: A Message from Ancient India to Modern Governments. Remarks by Professors Jackson, Barret, Albright and Brown, and Dr. Hummel.

The *Kautiliya Arthaśāstra*, India's greatest classic work on statecraft, advises a conqueror to do his utmost to make the people of a conquered country glad of the change in government, and to foster and encourage their provincial culture. This advice is based solely on political expediency, since ethical considerations are utterly foreign to the work in question. It is suggested that modern governments might profitably consider the political wisdom of this advice.

Professor ROBERT E. HUME, of Union Theological Seminary, New York City: An attempt to discover the common elements among the sacred scriptures of the eleven living historic religions.

An inclusive list of fifty categories covering the most generally accepted teachings in religion and ethics.

Dr. JOHN K. SHRYOCK, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Mr. H. Y. FENG, of Harvard University: Chinese Black Magic. Remarks by Dr. E. H. Hume.

A study of a feature of Chinese culture embodied in the practices designated by the word *ku*.

Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, of the New York Post-Graduate Medical School: A Note on Narcotics in Ancient Greece and in Ancient China.

Professor MOSES BAILEY, of the Hartford Theological Seminary: *The Origin of Soap*. Remarks by Dr. Chapman.

Water, wood ashes and fat, with heat, produce soap. Animal sacrifice involved all these. Thus cleanliness is 'next to' godliness.

The session adjourned at 5.25 P. M.

### THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order at half past eight on Tuesday evening in Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, to hear the address of President Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead on "New Testament Times—and Now" (printed in JOURNAL 53. 311 ff.).

After the address the members remained for an informal reception with refreshments.

### THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session met in two sections on Wednesday morning at 9.30 at the Jewish Institute of Religion.

#### SECTION FOR SEMITICS AND RELATED STUDIES

President Olmstead presided at the section for Semitics and Related Studies in the Chapel of the Jewish Institute of Religion. The following papers were read:

Dr. TRUDE WEISS ROSMARIN, of New York City: *Contributions to Hebrew Etymology*. Remarks by Professors Meek and Montgomery, Dr. Elzas, and Dr. S. Bernstein of New York.

Etymological explanations offered for אֵל, אֱלֹהִים (Ps. 73: 4), הֵימָּנָה (Gen. 36: 24).

Dr. WILLIAM JOHN CHAPMAN, of New Boston, Mass.: (a) *Palestinian Chronology*, 841-750 B. C.; (b) *The Wanderings of Io in Aeschylus, Prometheus Vincetus* 707-815; (c) *Early Babylonian Kings in Syncellus*.

Mrs. RUTH BROWN BROOKS, of the Hartford Theological Seminary: *The Continuity of Nomadism in the Old Testament*. Remarks by Dr. Chapman, President Morgenstern, and Professor Albright.

Migration from the desert into Palestine was more or less continuous from the traditional Hebrew conquest thruout the whole period of the Old Testament.

Professor NATHANIEL JULIUS REICH, of the Dropsie College: (a) *The nature of the double marriage contracts in Ancient Egypt*; (b) *The new journal Mizraim*. Remarks by Dr. Bull.



(a) An explanation of the group of Egyptian marriage contracts which usually have been identified with the *ἄγραφος γάμος*.

(b) Some account of a new journal of papyrology, Egyptology, the history of ancient laws, and their relations to the civilizations of Bible lands.

Professor GEORGE A. BARTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: A Poem from Ugarit (Ras Shamra) on the Building of the Temple of Alein. Remarks by Professor Albright, President Olmstead, and Dr. Chapman.

This tablet, which contained, when intact, about five hundred lines, contains a mythological account of the building of the temple of Alein. A colophon contains the name of Naqmad, king of Ugarit, thus identifying Ras Shamra with Ugarit.

Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: Some Notes on the Ras Shamra Texts. Remarks by Professor Albright, President Olmstead, and Dr. Chapman.

Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, of the Dropsie College: Itba' in Hebrew and Aramaic. Remarks by Professors Speiser, Albright, and Sapir, and Dr. Elzas.

This paper endeavors to prove the existence of Itba' in biblical and post-biblical Hebrew, as well as in Aramaic.

Professor RALPH MARCUS, of the Jewish Institute of Religion: Josephus and Christian Origins. Remarks by Professors Meek and Albright, and Dr. Chapman.

This paper is a criticism of certain conclusions reached by R. Eisler (in *The Messiah Jesus*). The following points are dealt with: (a) the motivation of early Christian alteration of Josephus' text; (b) the dates of Pilate's term as procurator; (c) the text of the reconstructed *Testimonium*; (d) the Old Russian additions to the *Bellum Judaicum*; (e) various philological details.

The section then adjourned.

#### SECTION FOR INDOLOGY AND RELATED STUDIES

Professor W. Norman Brown presided at the section for Indology and Related Studies in the Council Room of the Jewish Institute of Religion. The following papers were read:

Mr. HORACE I. POLEMAN, of the University of Pennsylvania: Certain Aspects of Medieval Hindu Death Rites. Remarks by Professor Edgerton.

The paper will consider these aspects in comparison with the ancient and modern rites—particularly the ancient rites.

Dr. MURRAY B. EMENEAU, of Yale University: A Story of Vikrama's Birth and Accession. Remarks by Dr. Laufer, and Professors Edgerton and Brown.

A story of "three boys born under the same star" as an element in the legends about King Vikrama, with description of one form of the story as an interpolation in India Office Sanskrit MS. 2688c of the *Vetālapañcaviṁśati*.

Professor LEROY C. BARRET, of Trinity College: Three Paippalāda Fragments.

This paper gives transliteration and, as far as possible, edited text of the three fragments which appear as plate 544 of the facsimile of the birchbark manuscript of the Kashmirian Atharva Veda. One fragment can be assigned to its place as part of folio 42.

Professor P. E. DUMONT, of The Johns Hopkins University: (a) The Indic God Aja Ekapād, the One-legged Goat; (b) A note on Bhagavadgītā, 10. 30. Remarks by Dr. Coomaraswamy.

(a) The Vedic god Aja Ekapād is almost certainly the sun. The one leg of that god was conceived as the necessary support of the sun, as a sort of pillar supported by the earth, rising with the sun in the morning, supporting it in its perilous journey through the sky and coming down with it in the evening.

(b) In that stanza *kalayati* has not the meaning "to count," but the meaning "to push," "to impel," "to urge on." Two passages of the Śānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata give convincing proof of this interpretation.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of Yale University: *Jñāna* and *viññāna*, theoretical and practical knowledge. Remarks by Dr. Coomaraswamy, Dr. Laufer, Dr. Uhl, Mrs. Bloomfield, and Professor Brown.

The paper is being published in the Winternitz Festschrift.

Professor W. NORMAN BROWN, of the University of Pennsylvania: The courtier who had mastered the seventy-two polite accomplishments.

A statement concerning an edition and translation of the *Mabīpāla-caritra* now in progress. The text is by Viradevagaṇin (floruit circa 1250 A. D.) and runs to 1816 āryā stanzas, written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit.

Professor J. C. ARCHER, of Yale University: Satyaharishchandra. Remarks by Dr. Coomaraswamy and Dr. Ogden.

This paper gives some evaluation of the work of Babu Harishchandra, who wrote in Hindi circa 1875 A. D.,—especially his play of the above title.

Professor GEORGE W. BRIGGS, of Drew University: Pāe Dhoni in Old Bombay. Remarks by Professor Joshi.

The books on Bombay refer to a certain place in the old city as *Pāe Dhoni* and explain the name as meaning "The Place-of-Foot-Washing." It is correct, however, to say that the name of this locality is derived from that of a famous establishment of a sect of the Yogis.

Professor E. H. STURTEVANT, of Yale University: The Pronominal Stem \**sme/i*- in Hittite and Indo-European. Remarks by Dr. Ogden.

The Indo-Hittite pronoun \**sme/i* meant 'thou, you, he, they' in any case except the nominative. In its use as an enclitic it has left us Hittite -*smas* 'vos, vobis, eos, eis' and -*smes* 'vester, eorum,' and the element -*sme/i* in many IE pronouns.

Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, of Columbia University: Two Turfan Pahlavi Etymologies: *axšōz* and *axšādih*.

The TPhl. word 'XŠVZ and its derivatives, which occur three times in *Fragm. T III* 260, ed. Andreas and Henning, pp. 22, 23 (Berlin, 1932), in reference to demons and their activity, are left untranslated by the editors. It is here suggested to vocalize the stem as *axšōz* and to equate it with Av. *aš.aojah*, "very strong." A parallel instance of intrusive *x* before *š* in Middle Persian is found in TPhl. *axšādih*, "trouble, distress," which is to be analyzed as the negative prefix *a* + *šādih*, a well-known word meaning "joy."

Rev. Dr. LEMON L. UHL, of Boston: Sacred Things of Varāha, the Boar, in the Telugu country.

Great temples mark the northern and southern limits of Telugu-land. North is the shrine of Jagan-nātha,—south is that of Venkaṭāchallam, scarcely known outside of India. This latter is situated in the summit of the Arcot Hills. It is, ecclesiastically and semi-officially, under the Mahant of Tirupati. From this Mahant I obtained permission to visit, and much information. In Venkaṭāchallam's village I saw the only Boar temple I have ever seen or heard of. By the Mahant's information I procured his accepted version of the Varāha-purāṇam. I purpose some discussion of shape, ages and contents of the Temple and Purāṇam.

Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Two Vedic hymns, VII, 88 and X, 71.

The section then adjourned.

The members of the Society were entertained at luncheon by the Jewish Institute of Religion.

They were welcomed with an address by the Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the Institute and a member of the Society for nearly forty years.

## THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session was called to order by President Olmstead at 2.45 on Wednesday afternoon in a lecture room at the Metropolitan Museum.

An address of welcome was then given by Dr. Herbert E. Winlock, Director of the Museum and a member of the Society.

President Olmstead then called upon Professor Albright to report on the work of the American Schools of Oriental Research at Jerusalem and Baghdād, and upon Dr. Arthur Upham Pope to tell of the progress of the Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology. He also called upon Professor Louis Speleers of the Royal Museums of Art and History at Brussels, who spoke briefly.

The reading of papers was then begun.

Dr. ERICH F. SCHMIDT, of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology and the University of Pennsylvania Museum: The Excavations at Damghan, Persia. Remarks by Professors Jackson and Meek, Dr. Uhl and Mr. Bergman.

Professor JEAN CAPART, Director of the Musées Royaux, Brussels: An "Ex libris" of King Amenhetep III at Yale University. In the absence of the author the paper was read by Dr. Bull.

Among the relics of the Capital of Akhenaten at el 'Amārna, exhibited in the British Museum, London, is a small faience plaque, known to archaeologists, which is nothing else than an "ex-libris" from the library of King Amenophis III, the father of Akhenaten. This very rare piece gives us the title of a "Book of the sycamore and the palm tree". I have identified in the collection of Mr. Garrett Chatfield Pier, now on loan at Yale University, a fragment of another of these "ex-libris" of the Royal Library. This copy is broken, the royal names have disappeared, but we are lucky enough to read another title of a book: "The Book of the Pomegranate Tree". It seems that there were in the Library a whole collection of textbooks describing the various plants and trees of the times, something like an "Encyclopedia of Botany".

Dr. LUDLOW BULL, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: The "Sphinxes" of Osorkon I.

Dr. NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH, of New York City: The Turkish Theatre: its types, their origin, influences and development. Remarks by Professor Duyvendak.

Professor GEORGE ROWLEY, of Princeton University: A stylistic hypothesis concerning Wu Tao-yüan. Remarks by Professor Elisséeff, Dr. Coomaraswamy, and Dr. Uhl.

The use of brush in the eighth century and the literary records and copies of Wu's style indicate that he transformed the western method of chiaroscuro into a Chinese method of suggesting form by the use of brush,—a veritable stylistic revolution.

Miss HELEN B. CHAPIN, of New York City: A long roll of Buddhist

images in the Palace Museum, Peking. Remarks by Dr. Laufer and Professor Luce.

The collection of the Palace Museum, Peking, includes an important painting of the 13th century, made in the Ta Li kingdom. The paper attempts to identify and explain a number of the divinities represented, many of whom occur elsewhere only in the paintings from Tun-huang or in early Japanese Buddhist painting.

Mr. JOHN HAZEDEL LEVIS, of New York City: A Chinese Musical Renaissance. Remarks by Dr. Coomaraswamy.

New researches in this field have brought out elements of vast importance, not alone for Chinese music as an individual art but also for world music in that it contains new resources undoubtedly to expand the medium of musical expression in the West.

Dr. M. S. DIMAND, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Some Fatimid textiles with printed and painted decoration.

Several important Faṭimid fabrics recently discovered in Fuṣṭāṭ throw new light on the history of printing and painting of textiles. Heretofore we had textiles printed with one or two stamps. A unique linen cloth has a decoration of lions, in gold, brown and red, printed with six different stamps. Some of the newly excavated textiles have inscriptions and ornaments drawn with a reed pen or painted in polychrome. The painted linens disclose a technique hitherto unknown; the enamel-like colors were applied to a specially prepared fabric.

The session then adjourned.

## THE SIXTH SESSION

The sixth session was called to order at ten o'clock Thursday morning in the Casa Italiana at Columbia University.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the next annual meeting would probably be in Philadelphia in Easter week but that the final decision as to place and time would rest with the Executive Committee. He also announced that the Directors in consultation with the Treasurer had balanced the Society's budget for the ensuing year.

The Corresponding Secretary announced a bequest to the Society from the late Rev. Dr. Justin E. Abbott which was expected to amount to about \$6,000., and stated that it would be made a part of the capitalized funds of the Society, the income to be used for general purposes.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the details of the

proposed Corporate Seal had been agreed upon by the committee and ratified by the Directors and that the seal had been cut.

President Olmstead reported on the American Schools of Oriental Research.

#### REPORT OF DELEGATES TO THE COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Professor F. Edgerton reported for the Delegates of the Society to the American Council of Learned Societies, as follows:

The 13th annual meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies was held in Philadelphia, January 28-29, 1933. The 18 constituent societies were represented by 34 delegates, and 16 of the 17 secretaries were present. Your delegates were present and also Dr. Charles J. Ogden as Corresponding Secretary of our Society.

The delegates of the Council to the 13th meeting of the Union Académique Internationale reported that the Academy of Sciences of the *USSR* had never accepted the standing and duties of a learned body affiliated with the Union, and that a formula had been found for an amendment of Article 21 of the statutes of the Union, permitting meetings to be held elsewhere than at Brussels, on which favorable action was expected next year.

Among the reports on projects favorably considered and supported by the Council the following are perhaps of special interest to the American Oriental Society.

1. Dr. Hummel reported for the Committee on Promotion of Chinese Studies, referring to the collaboration with the American Oriental Society at Chicago in April, 1932, the Summer Session of the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and the undertaking of a translation of a Dynastic History of China.

2. Professor McCurdy reported on the excavations of caves near Haifa in Palestine and recommended a special appropriation for further work on Neanderthal skeletons.

3. Professor Kirsopp Lake reported on the Excavations of Semaria, mentioning the stone capitals from the so-called palace of Ahab as the first fragments found anywhere, of Israelitish architectural detail, proto-Ionic in design, and the 80 complete small ivory plaques discovered.

4. Professor Elderkin reported on the further excavation of Antioch in Syria, where a fine mosaic had been found from the Roman period, but where remains from the Hellenistic age are not likely to be found except near Mount Silpias, seeing that the bed of the Orontes seems to have risen since that time.

5. Progress was reported on the editions of Selected Commentaries on Averroes, projected by the Mediaeval Academy of America.

6. Professor Idelsohn reported on the Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies. Out of 5,000 selections, 4,000 have religious texts, and 90 per cent. belong to the Synagogue liturgy.

In determining how the estimated funds at its disposal could best be expended for the advancement of the humanistic studies, the Council allocated to each accepted project the sum that seemed appropriate, and in so doing showed the greatest readiness to further any well-considered project in which the American Oriental Society, with its aims and purposes, would be apt to take a special interest, though sponsored by some other learned society.

An evening session was devoted to an informal discussion of the question whether the Council, by the establishment of pre-doctoral research fellowships, should seek to encourage graduate students to engage in less generally cultivated fields of study. No action was taken. But the most widely expressed opinion was that the establishment of such pre-doctoral research fellowships does not fall within the proper province of the Council's work, and that, under present circumstances, it would not be expedient to stimulate unduly the interest of graduates in studies promising little opportunity for fruitful continuation in academic service in the immediate future.

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT,  
FRANKLIN EDGERTON,  
*Delegates.*

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the Directors had elected Professor Solomon Zeitlin of the Dropsie College to represent the Society at the seventh Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, which was to meet at Warsaw in August 1933.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Professor W. Norman Brown for the Committee on Resolutions reported the following minute, which was unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

The American Oriental Society, at this the final session of its 1933 meeting, expresses its hearty gratitude to all those who have so admirably and hospitably provided for its business and social gatherings. Columbia University we thank for the use of its buildings, in particular the Casa Italiana, and for the other facilities it has offered, and to Dean McBain we express our appreciation of his cordial welcome. To the Jewish Institute of Religion and its president, Dr. Wise, we are grateful for the use of its building and for its entertainment at luncheon. The Metropolitan Museum of Art and its director, Mr. Winlock, welcomed us with a cordiality which we warmly reciprocated. The local members of the Society entertained us at luncheon and at the reception on Tuesday evening, both of which we found most happy events. To the Men's Faculty Club of Columbia University and the Women's Faculty Club we give thanks for their courtesies. Finally, the local Committee of Arrangements, and especially Mrs. Jackson, have achieved a perfection of detail in all arrangements and show a grace

in their welcome that have made this meeting a joyous occasion long to be treasured in our memory.

The Corresponding Secretary announced that the Directors had discharged with hearty thanks the Committee on Enlargement of Membership.

#### APPOINTMENT OF STANDING COMMITTEES

The President announced that he had appointed as a Committee to Nominate Officers for 1934-5, Professor Meek, Dr. Hummel and Professor Joshi.

As Auditors he appointed Professors Dougherty and Latourette.

The session continued in three sections.

#### SECTION FOR SEMITICS AND RELATED STUDIES

President Olmstead took the chair and the following papers were read:

Professor THEOPHILE J. MEEK, of the University of Toronto: The Iterative Names in the Old Akkadian Texts from Nuzi. Remarks by Dr. Bull, Professor Albright and President Olmstead.

Among the tablets excavated by the Harvard Baghdad School Expedition in 1930-31 were some 200 Old Akkadian texts containing an unusually large proportion of iterative names. The purpose of this paper is to show that all of these are Sumerian or Semitic (Akkadian or West Semitic).

Mr. A. BERGMAN, of The Johns Hopkins University: The Israelite Occupation of Eastern Palestine in the Light of Territorial History. Remarks by Dr. Chapman, Professor Albright and Dr. Reider.

Following the method of "Territorialgeschichte" employed so successfully by Professor Alt of Leipzig, this paper discusses the Israelite occupation of Transjordan, with the aid of recent topographical and archaeological discoveries.

President JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College: A Chapter in the History of the Post-Exilic High-Priesthood. Remarks by Professor Burrows, Mr. Halkin, President Olmstead, and Dr. Chapman.

This paper will discuss the incidents attendant upon the accession of Jochanan to the high-priesthood and their import for the history of that important institution.

Professor ROBERT H. PFEIFFER, of Harvard University: The functions and attributes of the deity in the Book of Job.

The functions of the deity in the Book of Job are the creation of



the world and the regulation of the course of natural phenomena, both physical and biological. The attributes of the deity are wisdom, power and holiness.

Rev. WALTER KLEIN, S.S.J.E., of New York City: Christianity in South Arabia during the Sixth Century. Remarks by Dr. Bull, President Olmstead, and Pressors Latourette and Albright.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD ROCHIE HARDY, JR., of the General Theological Seminary, New York City: Christianity as an Egyptian Religion. Remarks by Dr. Bull and President Olmstead.

During the period when Christianity was the national religion of Egypt the church fell heir to many rights formerly enjoyed by the temples; churches acquired the right of asylum and became the owners of large estates.

Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, of the Dropsie College: Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon: new terms for locust, falcon, mallow, etc.

#### CONFERENCE ON INDOLOGICAL WORK

The Indological section met as a round table conference on "Suggested Projects for Indological Work in America" under the presidency of Professor A. V. Williams Jackson. The following projects were discussed:

- (a) Survey of bibliographical materials for Indic studies in the United States and Canada, with special reference to the various Series published in India.
- (b) Census of Indic manuscripts in the United States and Canada.
- (c) Census of Indian art objects in the United States and Canada.
- (d) New subjects for activity to be proposed by individual scholars.

#### SECTION FOR FAR EASTERN STUDIES

Mr. Charles S. Gardner presided in the section for Far Eastern Studies and the following papers were read:

Dr. ROSWELL S. BRITTON, of New York University: Clay Block and Wax Block Printing. Remarks by Dr. Laufer.

Clay and wax printing blocks were used in China with the same technique as the wood block but with advantages in speed and economy due to the fact that they could be cut more rapidly than wood and could be reblocked and recut.

Dr. Y. R. CHAO, of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica: Tone and Intonation in Chinese. Remarks by Dr. Shryock and Dr. Hummel.

This paper deals with some problems of methodology in the study

of tone and intonation in Chinese. The actual pitch movement in the Chinese language is analysed into three components, (1) word-tone, or etymological tone, (2) neutral intonation, which results in a more or less systematic way from the juxtaposition of the word-tones, and (3) expressive intonation, which indicates special attitudes, implications, and emotions of the speaker.

Professor SERGE ELISSÉEFF, École des Hautes Études, University of Paris: The Sonation of the Initial in the Auxiliary Verb *suru*. Remarks by Professor Duyvendak.

The rule in all Japanese grammars reads that the initial of *suru* becomes a sonant after a monosyllabic Sino-Japanese word terminating in 1) a long vowel or 2) *-n*. An examination of a few examples will show that the final long vowel in question must be the result of a compensatory lengthening due to the loss of an original final *-ng*.

Dr. NANCY LEE SWANN, of the Gest Chinese Research Library, Montreal: A Woman among the Rich Merchants: The Widow of Pa 巴 寡 婦 清 (3rd Century B. C.). Remarks by Dr. Laufer.

The *Han Shu* 漢書 follows Ssü-ma Ch'ien's Shih-chi 史記 in having a *chüan*, in the section devoted mainly to the biographies of notables, to set forth the extremely wealthy in the economic life of the period.

Among these selected thirteen names, may be found that of the widow of Pa. As a young widow she fell heir to the wealth and the business development of quicksilver mines in a section of the modern province of Ssü-ch'uan.

Dr. SHIO SAKANISHI, of the Library of Congress: Prohibition of import of certain Chinese and western books and the policy of the Edo government. Remarks by Mr. Goodrich.

The Edict of the Kanei (1630) prohibiting thirty-two titles of books, most of which were by Matteo Ricci and his associates, was only the preliminary step toward the expulsion of foreigners and strict policy of isolation that was put in force nine years later.

Mr. L. C. GOODRICH, of Columbia University: The *Ssu-k'u Ch'üan Shu* and the literary inquisition of Ch'ien-lung. Remarks by Dr. Laufer and Professor Luce.

Suppression of anti-dynastic literature occurred in the earlier periods of the Ch'ing dynasty and in the first years of the reign of Ch'ien-lung. It was not until the decision in 1772 to compile the *Ssu-k'u*, however, that it developed into a systematic search for and censorship of these works.

Miss G. E. GASKILL, of the Cornell University Library: A Chinese official's experiences during the first Opium War.

At the outbreak of the Opium War Liang Chang-chü, 1775-1849, was governor of the province of Kuangsi. In a letter which he wrote to

Liu Tz'u-po, governor of Fuhkien province, he expressed his reflections on the terms of the peace of Nanking.

The several sections adjourned shortly before one o'clock.

The following papers were read by title:

Professor SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, of the Princeton Theological Seminary: The *Minbar* in Islam.

Recent authorities agree that the origin of the *minbar* or pulpit is in the synagogue and the Oriental church. Whether originally the *minbar* was the seat of authority, or whether it was the counterpart of the Jewish *bema* and the Christian *ambo* is still an open question.

Dr. DAVID I. MACHT, of Baltimore: Mandrakes in the Bible, Literature and Pharmacology.

The Biblical idea of mandrakes as a love philtre has a demonstrable scientific basis.

Professor CHARLES C. TORREY, of Yale University: The Aramaic Language in the later Jewish Dispersion.

It is commonly treated, not as an assured fact, but as altogether probable and the only safe working hypothesis, that the Jews of the Dispersion in Hellenistic lands spoke Greek as their native tongue and used it in their transactions with one another; that those who spoke the Aramaic of their ancestors had only learned it later. The history of the Jews, and their use of the sacred languages in all times and lands, would seem to render this hypothesis hardly tenable.

Professor LUCY DRISCOLL, of the University of Chicago: The Aesthetic of Shen Tsung-ch'ien (沈宗騫).

This eighteenth century painter, calligraphist and critic, is presented as an exponent of the new analytical spirit of the early Ch'ing dynasty in the field of art theory.

Professor IRA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: The Rights of Women in the Courts of Early Babylonia.

The position of goddesses in the pantheon is a presumption looking to favorable recognition. The economic rights of married women and widows are an auspicious omen of respectful reception. The acknowledged rights of women as such in the commercial life of that day would seem to sanction her appearance in the courts of equity.

Professor JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, of the University of Pennsylvania: Some Notes in Hebrew Etymology: the names 'Delilah', 'Zephaniah'; the roots דלל, זפן; the adverb ידד; the nouns דלל, זפן, דלל, זפן.

Mr. Y. Y. TSU, of the General Theological Seminary: Modern Chinese Scholarship in the Field of Religion.

Modern Chinese scholarship inherits the habit and technique of historical criticism from Ch'ing Dynasty scholarship, its love of science

from the impact of western thought first brought into China on an impressive scale by the Jesuit scholars of the late Ming Dynasty, and its utilitarian emphasis is in line with the spirit of the 17th Century School of Yen Shi-chai (1635-1704).

Professor FRANK R. BLAKE, of The Johns Hopkins University: Arabic Verbs of Stative Form with Meanings not clearly Stative.

Verbs of stative form (perfects *qatila. qatula*) have frequently active meanings, but none are of the *direct affective* type, producing a physical or mental change on the object (hit, convince, etc.) In the meaning of practically all stative verbs an underlying stative element is evident.

Professor RICHARD GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: The Genizah Collection belonging to the Alliance Israélite Universelle of Paris.

Dr. GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT, of the Jewish Institute of Religion: (a) Jacob Alting's Hebrew Correspondence; (h) Johann Christoph Wagenseil, Christian Hebraist.

(a) Jacob Alting, noted seventeenth century Christian Hebraist, in two letters addressed to Abraham Senior Coronel, his agent for book purchases in Hungary, endeavors to win him over to Christianity, by ingenious use of Biblical quotations.

(b) Among the scholars of the seventeenth century Wagenseil takes a foremost place. His great erudition, industry, versatility and evangelistic zeal are responsible for a literary output of considerable volume and variety.

Rev. Dr. MILTON B. LAMBDIN, of Washington, D. C.: Prehistoric Palestine.

Modern archaeological pick and spade bring ample evidence that, as far back as the fourth millennium B. C., Palestine was a cultural protégée of Babylon and Egypt.

Mr. S. MARENOF, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Egyptian Literary Sources of the Benaya Story.

In this study the writer attempts to find the way in which a particular element of the classical story "The Adventures of Sinuhe" is transmitted to the description of Benaya, the son of Yohada, one of David's heroes (2 Samuel 23: 20-21).

Professor WILLIAM ROSENAU, of The Johns Hopkins University: (a) Raphael in the Apocryphal Book of Tobit; (b) Some Talmudic Personal Names.

(a) The Book of Tobit assigns to Raphael a number of diversified functions.

(h) Interesting, indeed, is the origin of personal names found in Talmudic literature. For the specific form of every one of these various groups, good reason may be assigned on linguistic or environmental cultural grounds.

Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, of the Institute of Hyperphysical Research, New York City: Hindu realistic philosophy and modern scientific theory.

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH  
OF THE  
**American Oriental Society**  
AT THE MEETING IN TOLEDO, OHIO, 1933

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The sessions of the seventeenth annual meeting of the Middle West Branch were held in Toledo, Ohio, at the Toledo Museum of Art, on Friday and Saturday, March 31 and April 1, 1933.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Bowman	MacLean	Sellers
Braden	March	Shier, Miss
Braidwood	Moore, Miss	Siebens
Buckler	Morgenstern	Sprengling
Buttenwieser	Nims	Stefanski, Miss
Cameron	Noble	Trowbridge, Mrs.
DeWitt, Mrs.	Olmstead	Ware, Mrs.
Dubberstein	Price	Waterman
Fuller	Rathbun	Williams, G.
Lybyer	Rogers, Mrs.	Williams, W. G.
McDowell	Sanders, H. A.	Wilson
McGovern	Schaeffer	Worrell

Miss Catherine S. Bunnell and Mr. Charles Spicer, Jr., candidates for membership in the Society, also were present. The attendance was augmented by the presence of the wives of some of the members and of local students interested in Oriental subjects.

#### THE FIRST SESSION

At 10.00 A. M. on Friday, March 31, in the Conference Room of the Toledo Museum of Art, President Charles S. Braden called the meeting to order. The reading of the minutes of the meeting of the Branch in Chicago in 1932 was omitted since they were already in print (*JOURNAL* 52. 292-293).

As treasurer of the Branch, Professor Sellers reported as follows:

Balance reported at last meeting.... \$75.05

Expenditures:

Stamps and envelopes..... \$9.87

Mimeographing preliminary circular  
and abstracts..... 2.00

Printing final circular..... 14.00

Telegram to Mr. MacLean..... .40

26.27

Balance ..... \$48.78

Professors Price, Fuller, and McGovern were elected as a committee on nominations. The President appointed Professor Lybyer, Dr. Cameron, and Mr. Nims as a Committee on Resolutions.

There followed the reading of papers.

Dr. GEORGE G. CAMERON, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Oriental Institute Elamite Dictionary. Remarks by Professors Sellers and Olmstead.

Professor WM. M. MCGOVERN, of Northwestern University: The Early Inhabitants of Central Asia. Remarks by Professors Sanders, Lybyer, Olmstead, Mr. March, and Dr. Cameron.

Mr. Blake-More Godwin, Director of the Toledo Museum of Art, gave a brief address of welcome to the members of the Branch and the welcome was acknowledged by President Braden.

The reading of papers was resumed.

Professor IBA M. PRICE, of the University of Chicago: Some Peculiarities of the *Actes Juridiques Susiens*, Vol. XXII. Remarks by Mr. Dubberstein.

Some significant items are: the artificial molds for expressions for each kind of contract, the evident mixture of languages, the prominence of certain officials, the severity of the penalties for violations of contracts, the preference for certain divinities, the places where the oaths were taken, the sanctity of the oaths, and the almost total absence of dates.

Professor LESLIE E. FULLER, of Garrett Biblical Institute: The Attitude of the Jews toward the Gentiles. Remarks by Professors Olmstead and McGovern.

Professor W. H. WORRELL, of the University of Michigan: Sub-dialectic Regions in V/VI Century Sahidic.

The Branch adjourned for the luncheon hour. Transportation was furnished by the local committee and the members had luncheon at the Toledo Women's Club.

## THE SECOND SESSION

At 1.55 P. M. the Branch was again called to order in the Conference Room and the reading of papers was resumed.

Professor JOHN A. WILSON, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The 'Eperu of the Egyptian Inscriptions. Remarks by Professor Sprengling.

Five inscriptions of the 19th-20th dynasties mention the 'Eperu as foreigners engaged in various labors for the Egyptians. Though the word is written as foreign, the contexts do not suggest that it is a gentile name. Phonetically 'Eperu may be equated with *Khabiru*, so that these people may be *Khabiru* in the sense of foreign captive labor.

Mrs. EDITH WILLIAMS WARE, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Lost Books of Ancient Egypt. Remarks by Professors Wilson, Sprengling, McGovern, and President Morgenstern.

Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Cyrus, King of Babylon. Remarks by Professor Sprengling and McGovern.

Professor FRANCIS W. BUCKLER, of the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology: Elements of a Primitive Shahnama in the Gospels. Remarks by President Morgenstern, Professors McGovern and Sprengling.

After a brief recess the Branch was called to order again by Professor Charles S. Braden, of Northwestern University. The Presidential Address: Edwin Arnold, Poet and Critic.

The Branch adjourned and the members of the Museum served tea in one of the galleries.

## THE THIRD SESSION

At 5.00 P. M. the Branch met again in the Conference Room for a symposium on Seleucia by representatives of the University of Michigan Institute of Archaeological Research, under the direction of Professor Waterman. The papers were illustrated by stereopticon and gave studies of materials of the Michigan, Toledo, Cleveland Expedition.

Professor L. WATERMAN: Architecture.

Mr. R. J. BRAIDWOOD: Decorative Plaster.

Miss CATHERINE S. BUNNELL: Numismatics, (1) A Preliminary Survey.

Mr. CHARLES SPICER, JR.: Numismatics, (2) Notes on Weights and Measures.

Miss W. VAN INGEN: Figurines (read by Miss Louise A. Shier).

Miss E. W. MOORE: Epigraphical Notes.

Mr. R. H. McDOWELL: Some Historical Problems.

The Branch adjourned at 7.00 P. M. and at 8.00 P. M. met for the subscription dinner at the Toledo Club.

# THE FOURTH SESSION

At 9.00 A. M., Saturday, April 1, in the Conference Room, the Branch again came to order and the reading of papers was resumed.

Professor O. R. SELLERS, of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago: Locusts in Palestine. Remarks by Professors Fuller, Braden and Buckler.

Four stages of locust mentioned in the Bible (e.g., Joel 1 : 4; 2 : 25) are: (1) *arbē*, the old locust, which invades the country and deposits eggs; (2) *yelēk*, leaper, the new-born locust, which can jump, but not crawl; (3) *hāsīl*, devourer, the half-grown locust, which can jump and crawl, but not fly; (4) *gāzām*, clipper, the young adult. The government in Palestine by plowing up eggs, chemical torches, poison, and tin walls for directing the crawlers into pits has solved the problem of locust invasions.

Mr. CHARLES F. NIMS, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Additions in Job. Remarks by President Morgenstern, Professors Bittenwieser, Schaeffer, Sellers, and Mr. W. G. Williams.

In chapters 25-30 the confusion in the argument of Job is evident, and it is generally admitted that much of the material in the last chapters is spurious. The character of the first part of the book is entirely different from that of the latter portion, and the want of connection brought leads to the conclusion that in chapters 25-35 the present in only some of the verses, and that much of the material and the entire conclusion is lost. The conclusions that now come from material foreign to the original.

Dr. JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of Hebrew Union College: "For His Name's Sake."

Study of the doctrine of "For His Name's Sake" evolved by and of its influence upon subsequent literature and theology.

Dr. MOSES BUTTENWIESER, of Hebrew Union College: Psalm 104. Remarks by President Morgenstern.

Mr. W. H. DUBBERSTEIN, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: Persian Administration.

Contrast between the neo-Babylonian age and the Persian period.

Professor A. H. LYBYER, of the University of Illinois: The Character of Mohammed the Conqueror.

Professor M. SPRENGLING, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago: The Syriac and Greek Lexicon in Epiphanius' Weights and Measures.

Examination of *Secreta Secretorum*, published at Lyons in 1528 and claiming to be a Latin translation of an Arabic translation of a Roman translation of a Greek original.

The following papers were read by title:

Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, of Toledo, Ohio: Old Kingdom Reliefs from Lisht.



Professor J. Z. LAUTERBACH, of Hebrew Union College: Has the Mekilta been Preserved in its Original Form?

Rev. G. L. SCHANZLIN, of Kokomo, Ind.: Arabian Latin Translations of Greek Works.

From 11.20 to 12-15 Miss Elizabeth Jane Merrill Lee Anderson of the educational staff of the Museum conducted the members through the principal galleries. The new gallery was opened and the effects in lighting shown while Miss Anderson, head of the music department, played the piano.

At 12.15 the members were guests at luncheon in the dining hall of the Museum. The final business was transacted at the end of the meal.

Professor Price reported for the Committee on Nominations. The report was accepted and the following officers for 1933-1934 were unanimously elected.

President, Professor THEOPHILE J. MEEK.

Vice-President, Professor FRANCIS W. BUCKLER.

Secretary-Treasurer, Professor O. R. SELLERS.

Members of the Executive Committee, Professor CHARLES H. BRADEN and Mr. J. ARTHUR MACLEAN.

Professor Lybyer reported for the Committee on Resolutions the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

The Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society held at Toledo, Ohio, for its Seventeenth Annual Meeting, and express its hearty thanks and sincere gratitude to the officers and members of The Toledo Museum of Art for their unstinted hospitality and generous assistance. Particular credit is due Mr. MacLean, Miss Merrill, Miss Anderson, and Miss Hughes for devotedness, much time and thought toward the success of the meeting.

The Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society acknowledges its great indebtedness for the pleasure and success of the meeting to the efficient and untiring Committee on Local Arrangements: Mrs. Barney, Mrs. Crabbs, Mrs. Foster, Mrs. MacLean, Mrs. Spitzer, Mrs. Griffin, and others. Nothing was left undone which might in any way make the occasion more valuable a memory for the members in attendance.

Professors Braden, Fuller, and McGovern extended to the Branch an invitation to hold the 1934 meeting in Evanston at North Central University and Garrett Biblical Institute. This invitation was accepted and the date of the next annual meeting set at 1.10, Saturday, March 30, 31, 1933.

At 1.10 the Branch adjourned.

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